

The Relationship Between Unions and Meaningful Work: A Study of Public Sector Workers in Illinois

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Authors' Bio

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Executive Summary

Researchers have investigated the reasons why people pursue a career in the public sector. A compelling case has been made that individuals who pursue careers in the public sector are more highly motivated by intrinsic factors such as “work that is important” and work that “provides a feeling of accomplishment.”

This report, *The Relationship Between Unions and Meaningful Work* describes findings from a survey of a small group of Illinois public sector workers which investigates the work motivations of public employees. The study shows new evidence that government employees are strongly motivated to find “purpose in work that is greater than the extrinsic outcomes of the work.” Additionally, we find that government employees view their public sector union as a primary source of intrinsic motivation.

The unions that public sector workers belong to, do more than simply negotiate and enforce collective bargaining agreements. As our findings suggest, they are also related to the competence and performance level of public sector employees. But perhaps more provocatively, it is likely that the union plays an important role in the meaningful work that they experience while on the job, the job satisfaction they experience, and the prosocial values they maintain; some of the very factors that draw individuals into public service.

The policy implications for Illinois and other states are obvious. First, by taking away the right to unionize or denigrating the value of collective bargaining, as occurred in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan the state may be removing one of the most important incentives to recruit highly educated people to public service. Second, a weaker or nonexistent unionized government labor force may transform the choice of public service into merely a self-interested financial exchange; labor becomes just another commodity.

Finally and most potentially troubling, if workers are without a collective identity that potentially facilitates their quest for meaningful work and subsequently, they perceive their employment as primarily or solely as a way to earn living, then public service itself loses a significant portion of its service dimension. Ironically, weakening the institution that is unjustifiably characterized as imposing a financial burden on citizens may produce a workforce that labors for little more than a paycheck. Fair compensation should be a minimum requirement for government employees, but so should a commitment to preserving the people’s common assets.

Our study challenges the claim that public sector unions act contrary to the common good. We found evidence that not only do workers who choose to pursue careers in the public sector do so in spite of the comparative lower wages that they earn, but that the unions they belong to strongly related to their desire to accomplish more thorough work than earning an income. Work in the public sector serves as a vehicle to fulfill, at least in part, a personal need to experience a meaningful life and job.

What this study reveals is that a demeaning one-dimensional narrative of public employees badly mischaracterizes public servants.

Introduction

“The institution of collective bargaining is under serious attack in the United States. American public sector unions and collective bargaining have been subjected to a vicious attack under the auspices of balancing government budgets, promoting ‘equity’ between private and public employees, and limiting the impact of ‘special interests’ on government policy” – Dau-Schmidt & Lin (2014).

Work in the public sector is differentiated from other types of work in the United States by the fact that it is an employment relationship between a worker and some form of government. Careers in federal, state and local public service are characterized by lower wage levels, increased limitations on collective bargaining, subjection to partisan demonization, and since at least 2008 austerity budget measures (Bruno and Manzo 2013; Slater 2011).

Studies have documented the compensation penalty that government and educational employees pay compared to similarly situated private sector employees (Keefe 2010). Government employees do retain advantage in earned benefits, and until 2008 a relatively more secure hold on employment. But the public-private sector difference in earnings, as well as the increased negative framing of government employees as burdens on taxpayers, raises the question of why individuals would voluntarily pursue a career in the public sector.

Some observers have argued that one of the major reasons individuals pursue a career in the public sector is the relatively low risk-levels in terms of wage and job security compared to the private sector (i.e. Bellante and Link 1981). Others have made a more value-driven case, suggesting that individuals who pursue careers in the public sector are more highly motivated by intrinsic factors such as “work that is important” and work that “provides a feeling of accomplishment” (Houston 2000, p. 713).

Recent research, however, has begun to explore other social motivators which might possibly cause workers to pursue and maintain employment in the public sector, despite factors such as comparatively lower income, and an increasingly limited ability to unionize and collectively bargain. Consistent with the previous research described above, the motivators that workers experience on the job can be categorized as either (1) extrinsic (i.e. objective things such as money or working conditions) and (2) intrinsic (i.e. the ability to help others or to do work that is “good”).

In line with Houston (2000) and others, this report describes findings from a survey which investigates the work motivations of public employees. The study shows new evidence that government employees are strongly motivated to find “purpose in work that is greater than the extrinsic outcomes of the work” (Arnold et al 2007, p. 195). Additionally, we find that government employees view their public sector union as a primary source of intrinsic motivation. The next section discusses the study methodology and is followed by detailed results. A final section discusses the implications of this research.

The study was conducted in the fall of 2014 as part of a research project at the University of Illinois, School of Labor and Employment Relations. All participants in the survey were members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) union, and employed within the

public sector in the state of Illinois. Participants were selected due to the nature of the study at hand, and our interest in exploring the relationship between unionized workers in the public sector and their perceptions of the work that they do. Participation was completely voluntary and anonymity was guaranteed for the purposes of obtaining as honest and accurate of feedback as possible.

Data was collected from two questionnaires, with 61 and 72 items respectively, across two time periods approximately four weeks apart using paper-and-pencil surveys. Participants completed the survey while participating in union meetings. The data was then entered into a secure database, and all identifying information subsequently removed, to preserve anonymity. The response rate for both waves of data collection was 107, however not all 107 respondents answered every question on both surveys.

Methodology

The study was conducted in the fall of 2014 as part of a research project at the University of Illinois, School of Labor and Employment Relations. All participants in the survey were members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) union, and employed within the public sector in the state of Illinois. Participants were selected due to the nature of the study at hand, and our interest in exploring the relationship between unionized workers in the public sector and their perceptions of the work that they do. Participation was completely voluntary and anonymity was guaranteed for the purposes of obtaining as honest and accurate of feedback as possible.

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The data in this report were quantitative, and the findings were largely the product of descriptive statistics generated using statistical analysis software and are not meant to explicitly imply causality. Correlations among the variables can be found in Chart 19 in the appendix and are discussed below as well. Responses to survey questions are reported in percentages for all possible answers. Charts and tables are included in this report to demonstrate trends in worker perceptions of and attitudes toward both their employer and their union. A more detailed report of statistically significant relationships (such as correlation coefficients) between the constructs reported can be made available by the authors upon request.

Although the participants in this study were selected because they meet a specific set of criteria necessary for exploring the relationships of interest, we do recognize that this comes with drawbacks and limitations. Participants were not randomly selected nor assigned to control and treatment groups. This does not affect the study findings, however, as this research is intended to serve as exploratory. No research that we are aware of to date has empirically analyzed the relationship between public sector union members and their perceptions of meaning in their work. Future confirmatory research should be conducted on this subject which makes use of control groups to alleviate the aforementioned limitations.

Demographics (Appendix 1)

The average age of respondents was 47 years old and the average employment tenure was 15.8 years. Additionally, the average tenure in the current job was 10.0 years and the average tenure with their union was 9.9 years. Men made up 73% of participants while 27% were female (Chart 1). The ethnic makeup of participants is 58% white, 27% black, 9% Hispanic, 2% American Indian, 1% Native Hawaiian, and 4% Other (Chart 2). The income distribution of participants is as follows: 10% earned between \$21,000 and \$40,000 annually; 13% earned between \$41,000 and \$60,000 annually; 34% earned between \$61,000 and \$80,000 annually; and 42% earned more than \$80,000 annually (Chart 3).

Survey Measures

Personal Characteristics. Workers were initially asked how they identified themselves with respect to their *prosocial identity*, being a *meaning seeker*, whether they perceive their job as *meaningful work*, the degree to which they experience *task significance*, and the level of *job satisfaction* that they experience on the job. It is important to establish these base-levels of individual characteristics before we can explore how these characteristics might be affected by their union. All items were measured on a scale of 1-5, where: 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree.

As commonly understood *prosocial identity* measures the extent to which an individual sees himself or herself as generous and caring. A *meaning seeker* is one who feels “their [life] matters and make[s] sense to them on an objective level” (Steger and Dik 2009, p. 305). Doing *meaningful work*, requires conducting labor that is both significant and intrinsically attractive (Steger, Dik, and McDuffy 2012). We also measure *task significance* “in terms of opportunities to benefit other people both outside the organization (clients, customers, patients) and inside the organization (coworkers, supervisors)” (Grant 2008). Lastly, *job satisfaction* is characterized by an individual’s general feelings about their job and the work that they do (Arvey and Dewhirst 1976).

Union Characteristics. Additionally, showing how a worker perceives their union is important for establishing a relationship between a worker’s union and the ways in which that worker experiences meaning in their work. Here we capture (1) how workers perceive their union as being supportive, (2) how workers perceive their employer as being supportive (for comparison purposes), (3) how workers perceive their union as being impactful in their work, (4) how workers perceive their union as being ethical, and (5) how they perceive their union as being prosocial. As before, all items were measured on a scale of 1-5, where: 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree.

The Meaningful Work-Union Relationship. The final portion of the study includes five measures of workers’ relationship with their union and the role that the union plays in attenuating the relationship between a worker and how that worker experiences meaning in his or her work. These five measures are (1) relatedness to coworkers through the union, (2) identification with the union

and its members, (3) commitment to the union, (4) job competence and union support, and (5) perceived choice and union support. As before, all items were measured on a scale of 1-5, where: 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree.

Study Results (Appendix 2)

The descriptive results of the survey are found in Appendix 1, Tables 1-16, as well as visually in Appendix 2-3, Charts 4-21.

The average score for the five personal characteristics are 4.34 for prosocial identity (Table 1), 3.47 for meaning seeker (Table 2), 3.95 for meaningful work (Table 3), 4.11 for task significance (Table 4) and 3.85 for job satisfaction (Table 5).

The average score for the five union characteristics are 3.89 for perceived union support (Table 6), which contrasts with a mere 2.87 for perceived organizational/employer support (Table 7), 3.71 for perceived union impact (Table 8), 3.93 for union ethical climate (Table 9), and 4.03 for union prosocial values (Table 10).

Finally, the average score for the meaningful work-union relationship are 3.42 for relatedness to union and coworkers (Table 11), 3.88 for identification with the union (Table 12), 3.98 for affective commitment to the union (Table 13), 3.55 for job competence and union support (Table 14), and 3.19 for perceived choice and union support (Table 15). These findings are discussed as well as their implications in the final section.

Statistical relationships between each of the constructs measured in this study can be found in Table 16 in the form of correlation coefficients. With limited exception, all of the variables are correlated with one another and statistically significant, showing evidence of the relationships discussed below.

Discussion of Findings

This report began with a claim that public sector unions are under attack in the U.S. and that one of the primary reasons for rolling back worker collective bargaining rights is a fiscal urgency to reduce public budgets. Many states (e.g., Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan) have passed legislation which severely limits the bargaining rights of workers in the public sector. While political partisanship has strongly correlated with state legislative roll-backs on collective bargaining, the rhetorical rationale used to defend the actions is that under the guise of the doctrine of sovereignty the government owes its taxpaying citizens a democratic right to determine how money is to be spent. According to this logic the doctrine is undermined when a third-party – a government employees union - is introduced into the employee-employer relationship in order to negotiate higher wages on behalf of workers.

This report investigated the claim that public sector unions function as solely economic agents who negotiate an exchange of labor for compensation and are primarily a cost burden on the taxpayers. Contrary to claims of a one-dimensional fiscal impact we find evidence that public sector unions provide workers with an important vehicle through which they can gain substantial non-monetary rewards from their work. Equally important, it appears that government employee unions can serve to elevate and protect the public's interest.

The first five measures of the survey explore how workers perceive themselves and the work that they do. The responses for all three personal questions of *prosocial identity* show that between 88%-100% of participants feel that they are being caring and generous toward others. The average measures for *meaning seeking* (3.47) and *meaningful work* (3.95) also reflect support for intrinsic work motivations (see Chart 19). No more than 12% of respondents answered “disagreed” or “strongly disagreed” on any meaning seeking items and no more than one in four employees answer similarly on any meaningful work variables. These scores suggest that even for public employees who are not actively seeking out meaning in their life, there is *something* about their job that provides them with meaning.

The well-above-average rating for both *task significance* (4.11) and *job satisfaction* (3.85) also suggests that there is a quality about the work being done that provides workers with the opportunity to positively impact others in a broader social sense.¹

Measures 6-10 (see Chart 20) unpack the characteristics that participants perceive about their union. What is remarkable about the responses to these items is that more than 75% of respondents either “agree” or “strongly agree” with the affirmative statements about their union. For example, when asked about the support that they receive from their union, 76% of respondents either “agree” or “strongly agree” that their union really cares about their well-being. Additionally, 89% responded that their union is willing to help them if they need a special favor. In contrast, when asked about the support that they receive from their *employer*, only 37% responded that they “agree or strongly agree” (less than half of the response rate to the same question about the union). Similarly, 54% of survey participants responded that their employer is willing to help if they need

¹ All of the items in these five measures ask about either the work or the job, never about the employer or the union.

a special favor. But this rate is 35% lower than the same question about their union. As indicated in Chart 20, not only is the average response much lower for perceived organizational /employer support than for perceived union support, but these average response differences are statistically significant as well at the 95% level, meaning that workers in our sample feel that their employer is significantly less supportive than their union.

In the last set of 5 measures (see Chart 21), we examine how the union relates both to the workers themselves, as well as to the work that they do. Average measures for relatedness to union and coworkers (3.42), and identification with union and coworkers (3.88) suggest that not only does the union make workers feel more connected with their coworkers (60% either “agree” or “strongly agree” with the former) but that to some extent workers’ identity is tied to their fellow union members.

When asked about their commitment to the union, responses show strong support for their union (3.99). Asked specifically whether they are proud to tell others that they are a member of the union, 79% replied affirmatively. When asked about their job competencies and the support they receive from their union, on every item the average combined “agree” response was twice as high as the combined “disagree” answer. Cumulatively these responses suggest that workers perceive that the union is also responsible for making them feel as though they are better equipped to do the work itself. The final measure reported here shows a smaller, but slightly above response-pattern with respect to how the union affects a worker’s autonomy on the job.

As seen in Table 16, the correlational relationships between most of these variables are not only high, but very statistically significant. As an example, the correlation between perceived union support and other constructs such as prosocial identity, meaningful work, and job satisfaction are .417**, .434**, and .355** respectively.² What this tells us is that as workers perceive their public sector union as being supportive of them, they are significantly more likely to identify themselves as being prosocial, perceive their work as meaningful, and experience high levels of job satisfaction. Similarly, the relationship between union prosocial values and the same three aforementioned constructs is .465**, .342**, and .286** respectively. This indicates that the more a worker perceives their *union* as being prosocial, the more they perceive themselves as prosocial, plus workers are more likely to experience meaning in their work and be satisfied with their job.

² **= significant at the .01 level

Policy Implications

Viewing these findings holistically, a story emerges about how workers in the public sector perceive meaning in the work that they do. They may not always actively seek out meaning on the job, but it seems that most employees experience intrinsic value from their labor. It is hard to imagine that firefighters charge into burning buildings solely for a paycheck. It is more likely that there is some other reason that they (a) chose that career in the first place and (b) continue to do the work of a firefighter every day. In a similar vein, it is difficult to imagine law enforcement officers pursuing and maintaining a career that regularly puts them in physical jeopardy without there being some intrinsic motivation. We suggest that at least in part the *meaning* that these workers obtain from their jobs is intrinsically generated.

While the job itself is taken seriously by state employees as a service to the people of Illinois, there appears to be more to the dynamic than personal or job characteristics. Importantly, the fact that these state workers are unionized is relevant. The unions that public sector workers belong to, do more than simply negotiate and enforce collective bargaining agreements. As our findings suggest, they are also related to the competence and performance level of public sector employees. But perhaps more provocatively, it is likely that the union plays an important role in the meaningful work that they experience while on the job, the job satisfaction they experience, and the prosocial values they maintain; some of the very factors that draw individuals into public service. Future research would do well to examine explicit causality, as well as explore the mediating role of these union characteristics in the relationship between the suggested independent and dependent variables.

The policy implications for Illinois and other states are obvious. First, by taking away the right to unionize or denigrating the value of collective bargaining, as occurred in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan the state may be removing one of the most important incentives to recruit highly educated people to public service. Second, a weaker or nonexistent unionized government labor force may transform the choice of public service into merely a self-interested financial exchange; labor becomes just another commodity.

Finally and most potentially troubling, if workers are without a collective identity that potentially facilitates their quest for meaningful work and subsequently, they perceive their employment as primarily or solely as a way to earn living, then public service itself loses a significant portion of its service dimension. Ironically, weakening the institution that is unjustifiably characterized as imposing a financial burden on citizens may produce a workforce that labors for little more than a paycheck. Fair compensation should be a minimum requirement for government employees, but so should a commitment to preserving the people's common assets.

Our study challenges the claim that public sector unions act contrary to the common good. We found evidence that not only do workers who choose to pursue careers in the public sector do so in spite of the comparative lower wages that they earn, but that the unions they belong to strongly related to their desire to accomplish more thorough work than earning an income. Work in the public sector serves as a vehicle to fulfill, at least in part, a personal need to experience a meaningful life and job. Previous research has shown evidence that an offset exists between wages and the risk of job loss by pursuing a career in the public sector, as well as an actual wage deficit between workers in the public sector versus those in the private sector. Research has also shown

that workers who pursue a career in the public sector likely do so for intrinsic reasons as well as extrinsic gain. This study takes the previous research one step further to show that not only do public sector workers do their jobs for something other than money, but that one of the primary mechanisms through which this relationship exists may very well be their membership in a public sector union.

Our study of a small group of state employees offers provocative impressions about how public employees approach their jobs. Future studies that include responses from non-union government employees would advance our understanding of what draws people into public service and what role unionization plays in workers' valorization of government employment. What this study reveals is that a demeaning one-dimensional narrative of public employees badly mischaracterizes public servants.

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Appendix 1

Chart 1. Gender

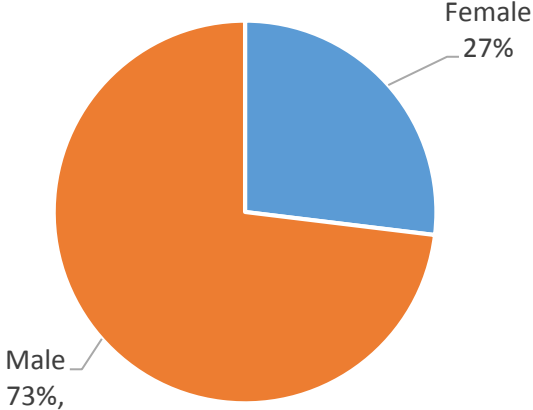


Chart 2. Ethnicity

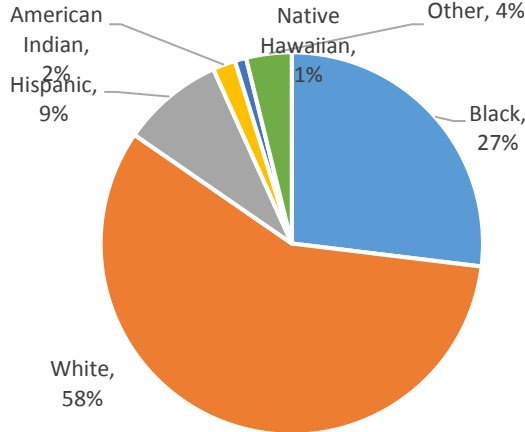
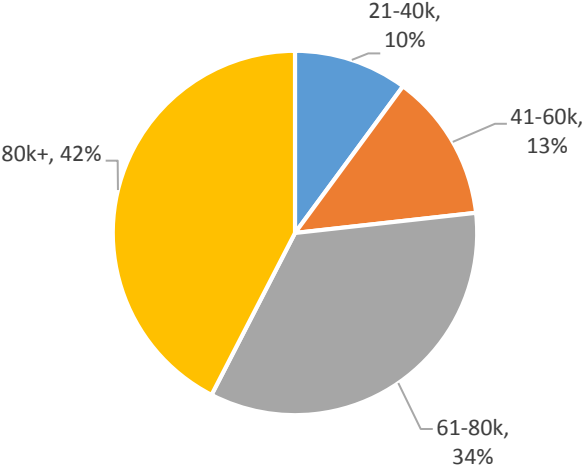


Chart 3. Income Distribution



Appendix 2

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 1. Prosocial Identity							4.34
I see myself as caring.	0%	0%	0%	52%	48%	4.48	
I see myself as generous.	0%	0%	7%	53%	41%	4.34	
I regularly go out of my way to help others.	0%	0%	12%	55%	33%	4.21	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 2. Meaning Seeker							3.47
I am looking for something that makes my life feel meaningful.	5%	5%	25%	37%	29%	3.81	
I am always looking to find my life's purpose.	10%	8%	26%	36%	19%	3.44	
I am always searching for something that makes my life feel significant.	8%	9%	24%	45%	14%	3.49	
I am seeking a purpose or mission for my life.	10%	11%	27%	39%	12%	3.31	
I am searching for meaning in my life.	11%	14%	26%	32%	16%	3.27	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 3. Meaningful Work							3.95
I have found a meaningful career.	2%	6%	18%	29%	45%	4.10	
I view my work as contributing to my personal growth	1%	5%	16%	40%	39%	4.10	
My work really makes no difference to the world.(R)	7%	5%	13%	29%	45%	4.03	
I understand how my work contributes to my life's meaning.	2%	5%	24%	47%	23%	3.84	
I have a good sense of what makes my job meaningful.	1%	3%	12%	56%	28%	4.07	
I know my work makes a positive difference in the world.	1%	3%	11%	49%	36%	4.16	
My work helps me better understand myself.	3%	9%	32%	44%	12%	3.54	
I have discovered work that has a satisfying purpose.	1%	7%	20%	44%	29%	3.92	
My work helps me make sense of the world around me.	1%	8%	35%	41%	15%	3.60	
The work I do serves a greater purpose.	1%	4%	14%	42%	39%	4.14	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 4. Task Significance							4.11
My work allows me to significantly affect the lives of other people.	1%	5%	12%	45%	37%	4.12	
My work is very significant and important in the broader scheme of things.	0%	1%	13%	51%	34%	4.19	
My work has a large impact on people outside the organization.	0%	5%	20%	42%	33%	4.04	
My work has a significant impact on people outside the organization.	0%	4%	21%	39%	36%	4.08	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 5. Job Satisfaction							
To what extent to you agree that your job is:							3.85
Pleasant	9%	11%	11%	53%	15%	3.55	
Ideal	5%	14%	36%	34%	12%	3.34	
Good	3%	3%	15%	52%	27%	3.97	
Worthwhile	2%	4%	11%	44%	39%	4.14	
Acceptable	0%	2%	22%	45%	31%	4.05	
Superior	2%	16%	28%	27%	26%	3.60	
Better than most	1%	8%	13%	49%	28%	3.95	
Makes me content	6%	11%	25%	42%	16%	3.51	
Excellent	4%	12%	29%	33%	22%	3.57	
Enjoyable	3%	7%	21%	50%	20%	3.77	
Bad(R)	3%	10%	28%	32%	27%	3.72	
Waste of time(R)	2%	3%	10%	27%	59%	4.38	
Undesirable(R)	3%	13%	13%	29%	43%	3.97	
Worse than most(R)	4%	11%	17%	28%	40%	3.89	
Disagreeable(R)	4%	10%	31%	19%	36%	3.74	
Inadequate (R)	3%	8%	21%	33%	35%	3.90	
Rotten(R)	3%	6%	16%	33%	42%	4.07	
Poor(R)	0%	7%	16%	30%	47%	4.17	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 6. Perceived Union Support							3.89
My union really cares about my well-being.	3%	5%	17%	40%	36%	4.01	
My union strongly considers my goals and values.	1%	10%	27%	39%	23%	3.74	
My union shows little concern for me.(R)	1%	11%	17%	45%	27%	3.86	
My union cares about my opinions.	3%	8%	37%	34%	18%	3.56	
My union is willing to help me if I need a special favor.	2%	3%	6%	53%	36%	4.19	
Help is available from my union when I have a problem.	1%	2%	34%	44%	20%	3.79	
My union would forgive an honest mistake on my part.	8%	5%	10%	37%	41%	3.97	
If given the opportunity my union would simply take my dues and not represent me.(R)	7%	6%	9%	39%	39%	3.98	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 7. Perceived Organizational Support							2.87
My employer really cares about my well-being.	20%	25%	18%	27%	10%	2.83	
My employer strongly considers my goals and values.	22%	26%	22%	20%	10%	2.71	
My employer shows little concern for me. (R)	24%	26%	16%	25%	8%	2.67	
My employer cares about my opinions.	23%	19%	29%	20%	9%	2.73	
My employer is willing to help me if I need a special favor.	14%	7%	25%	39%	15%	3.34	
Help is available from my employer when I have a problem.	18%	18%	38%	17%	9%	2.82	
My employer would forgive an honest mistake on my part.	22%	16%	30%	18%	14%	2.85	
If given the opportunity my employer would simply take my dues and not represent me. (R)	20%	17%	21%	27%	15%	2.99	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 8. Perceived Union Impact							3.71
I feel that my union helps me to feel that my work makes a positive difference in other people's lives.	3%	7%	26%	42%	23%	3.75	
My union helps me to be aware of the ways in which my work is benefiting others.	3%	9%	27%	39%	22%	3.67	
My union improves my ability to see the positive impact that my work has on others.	4%	8%	31%	35%	23%	3.65	
My work really makes others' lives better.	4%	8%	27%	38%	23%	3.67	
I have positive impact on others in my work on a regular basis.	2%	8%	29%	34%	26%	3.75	
My work has positive impact on a large number of people.	1%	9%	27%	36%	26%	3.77	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 9. Union Ethical Climate							3.93
My union protects its own interests and is not interested in the views of the members.(R)	4%	1%	13%	55%	27%	3.99	
My union leaders are mostly out for themselves.(R)	6%	7%	20%	44%	23%	3.70	
This union does not respect the personal morals of its members.(R)	4%	8%	13%	47%	27%	3.86	
The union supports my interests in acting ethically.	5%	4%	13%	46%	31%	3.95	
People are expected to do anything to further the union's interests, regardless of the consequences.(R)	10%	4%	16%	30%	39%	3.85	
Work is considered substandard only when it hurts the union's interests.(R)	8%	6%	15%	33%	37%	3.86	
What is best for everyone in the union is the major consideration for my union.	5%	6%	13%	35%	40%	4.00	
The most important concern of my union is the good of all the people in the union as a whole.	4%	3%	12%	36%	45%	4.15	
The union's major concern is always what is best for union members.	3%	6%	14%	40%	37%	4.01	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 10. Union Prosocial Values							4.03
My union believes that it is important to help those in need.	0%	4%	5%	49%	42%	4.30	
My union believes in being courteous to others.	1%	5%	11%	42%	41%	4.18	
My union wants to help its workers in anyway it can.	1%	6%	8%	43%	42%	4.20	
My union promotes interaction among workers.	2%	7%	13%	46%	33%	4.01	
My union encourages workers to have fun together.	1%	8%	29%	42%	20%	3.73	
My union encourages workers to get to know each other better.	3%	11%	22%	39%	25%	3.73	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 11. Relatedness to Union and Coworkers							3.42
My union makes me feel more connected to others at work.	2%	10%	29%	42%	18%	3.65	
I really doubt that I would ever be friends with most people in my union.(R)	6%	17%	50%	22%	6%	3.05	
My union helps me feel like I can really trust others at work.	4%	12%	44%	30%	10%	3.30	
My union helps me to feel close to my coworkers.	4%	7%	27%	43%	20%	3.69	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 12. Identification with Union							3.88
I am similar to other union members in terms of general attitudes and beliefs	5%	16%	27%	43%	10%	3.36	
I like my fellow union members as a whole.	1%	1%	17%	60%	20%	3.98	
My fellow union members are important to me.	0%	1%	19%	50%	30%	4.09	
I identify with other union members.	0%	3%	19%	57%	21%	3.96	
I feel strong ties to other union members.	0%	6%	28%	47%	19%	3.79	
I'm glad to be working with other union members.	0%	3%	15%	51%	31%	4.10	
I see myself as connected other union members.	0%	3%	26%	54%	17%	3.86	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 13. Affective Commitment to Union							3.98
I feel a strong sense of belonging to my union.	1%	8%	20%	43%	29%	3.90	
I feel personally attached to my union.	1%	9%	29%	37%	24%	3.73	
I am proud to tell others that I am a member of my union.	1%	5%	16%	41%	38%	4.09	
Being part of my union has a great deal of personal meaning to me.	1%	5%	32%	33%	29%	3.85	
I would be happy to be in my union until I retire.	0%	1%	18%	37%	44%	4.24	
I really feel that the problems faced by my union are also my problems.	0%	2%	18%	49%	31%	4.10	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 14. Competence and Union Support							3.55
My union helps me to be better at my work.	3%	10%	30%	43%	14%	3.56	
I think I do pretty well at my work, compared to non-union workers.	0%	2%	30%	33%	34%	4.00	
My union helps me to feel competent in my work.	3%	11%	37%	33%	16%	3.48	
My union helps me to improve my performance at work.	3%	12%	40%	30%	15%	3.42	
My union helps me to be more skilled at my work.	5%	15%	41%	24%	15%	3.30	

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Item Average	Scale Average
Table 15. Perceived Choice and Union Support							3.19
My union helps me to have more choice about the way I do my work.	5%	11%	35%	31%	18%	3.46	
My union unnecessarily restricts my choice in how I do my work.(R)	7%	18%	47%	20%	8%	3.06	
My union helps me to have more choice about the tasks I do at work.(R)	7%	8%	30%	36%	20%	3.55	
My union helps me to do my work tasks the way I want to.	13%	30%	36%	14%	6%	2.69	

Table 16. Correlations Among Scale Composites

	UPSV	PUS	UEC	POS	MS	PSI	IU	ACU	UPI	TS	COMP
Union Prosocial Values	1										
Perceived Union Support	.878**	1									
Union Ethical Climate	.716**	.794**	1								
Perceived Organizational Support	.349**	.349**	.283**	1							
Meaning Seeking	0.14	0.03	-0.06	-0.18	1						
Prosocial Identity	.465**	.417**	.229*	0.07	0.12	1					
Identification with Union	.561**	.586**	.462**	0.04	.216*	.387**	1				
Affective Commitment to Union	.649**	.654**	.524**	0.03	0.11	.500**	.767**	1			
Union Perceived Impact	.701**	.696**	.523**	0.06	0.08	.555**	.734**	.843**	1		
Task Significance	0.19	.271**	0.13	.254*	-0.02	.285**	.328**	.302**	.265**	1	
Competence	.656**	.653**	.426**	0.09	0.08	.521**	.693**	.740**	.847**	.333**	1
Perceived Choice	.435**	.412**	.457**	0.14	-0.06	0.15	.327**	.352**	.404**	0.103	.419**
Relatedness	.625**	.622**	.444**	0.01	0.00	.378**	.631**	.670**	.720**	.287**	.738**
Meaningful Work	.342**	.434**	0.17	.397**	0.01	.364**	.332**	.299**	.339**	.640**	.459**
Job Satisfaction	.286**	.355**	.341**	.533**	-0.13	.301**	0.16	0.184	.208*	.350**	.319**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 3

Chart 4. Prosocial Identity

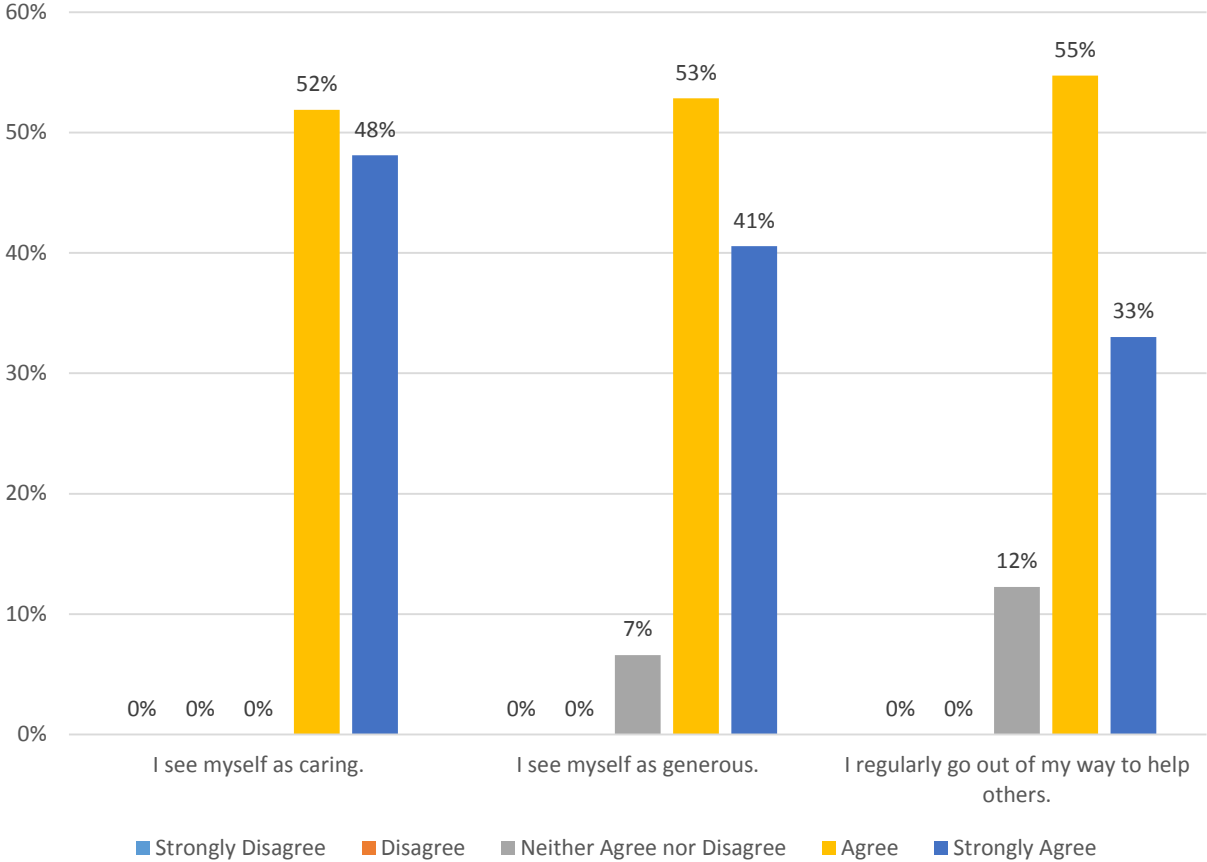


Chart 5. Meaning Seeker

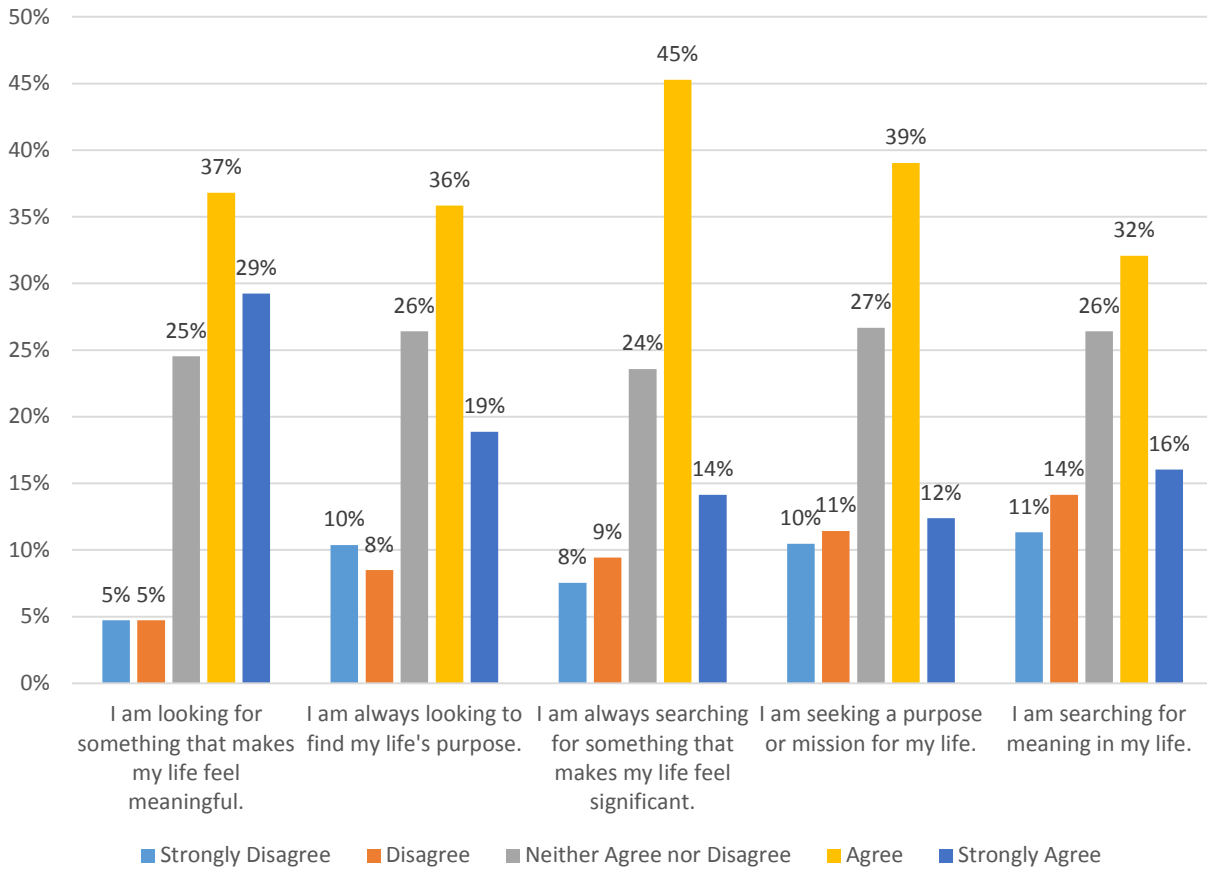


Chart 6. Meaningful Work

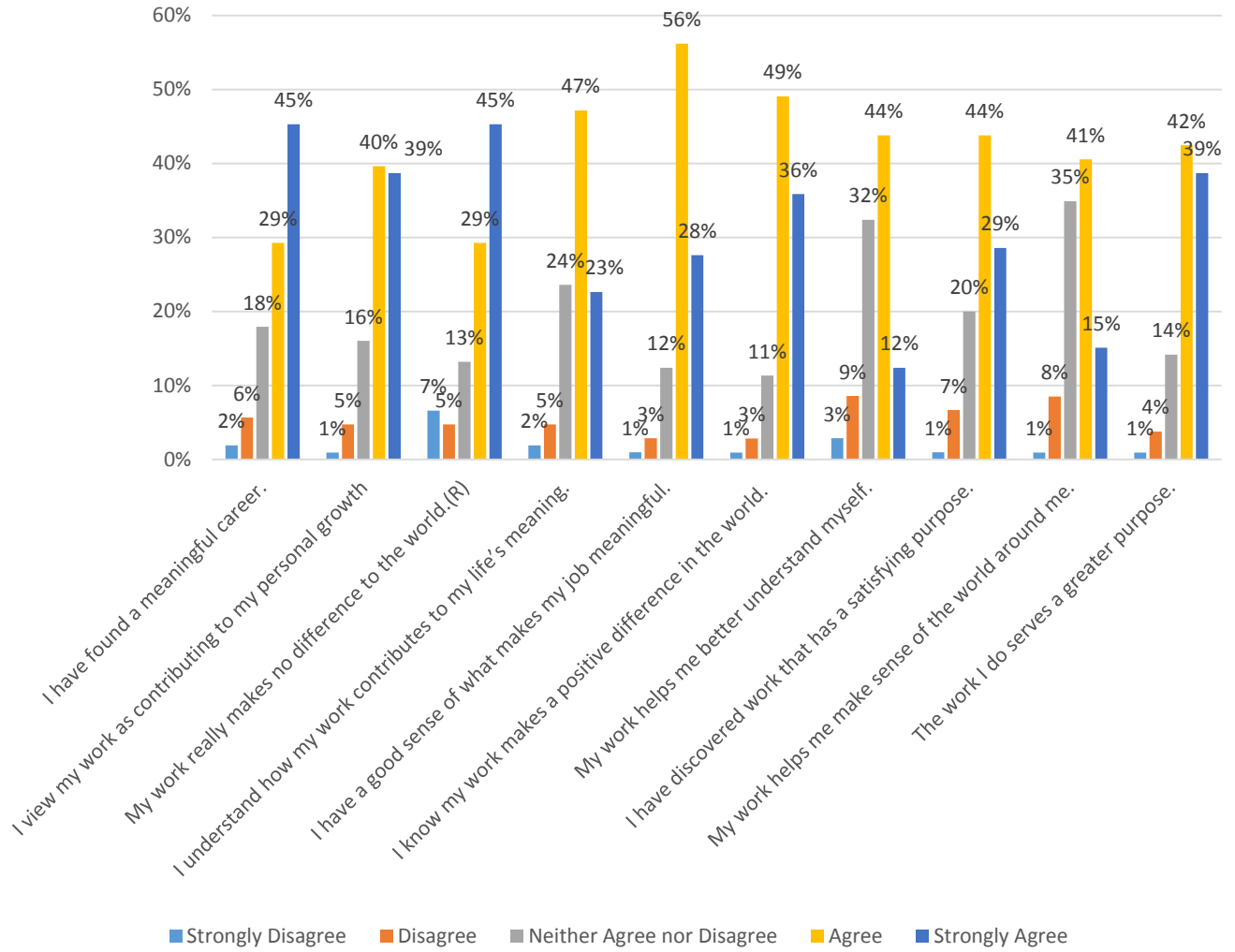


Chart 7. Task Significance

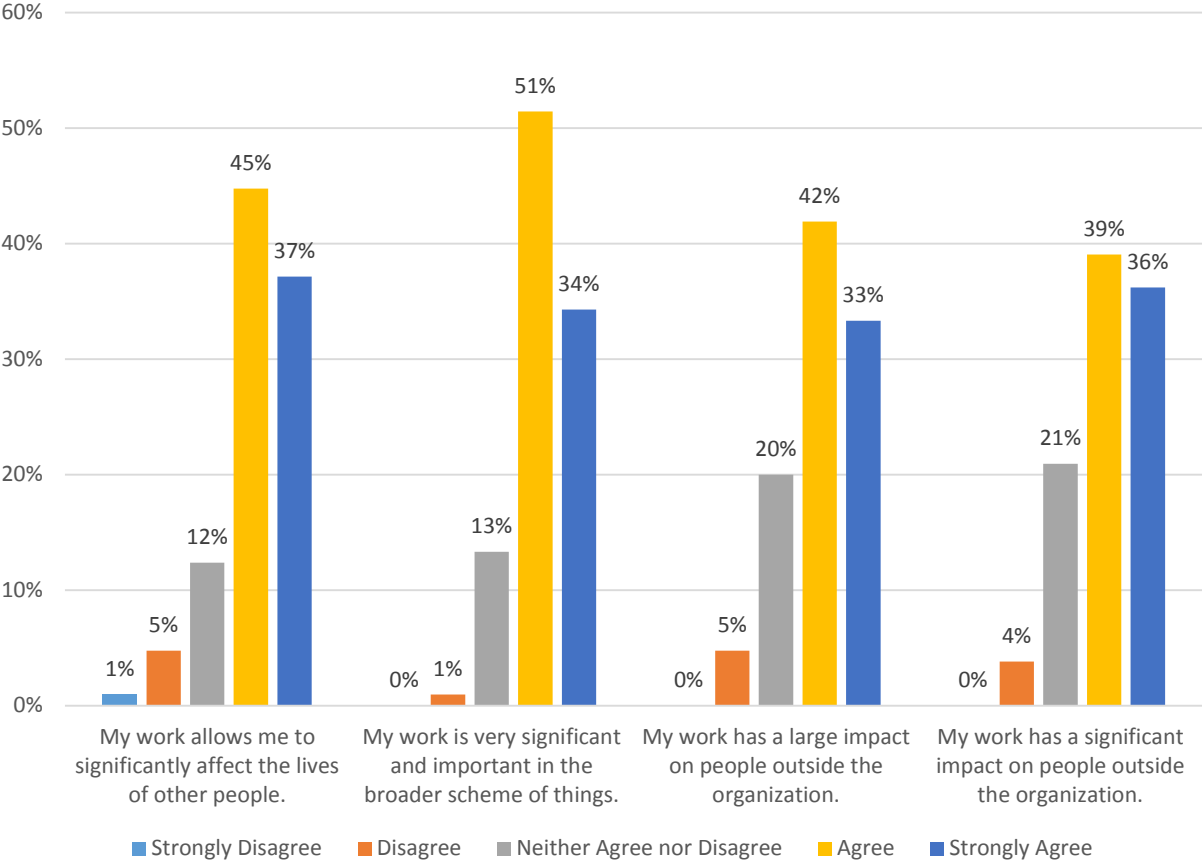


Chart 8. Job Satisfaction* (select items shown, for complete item list see Table 5)

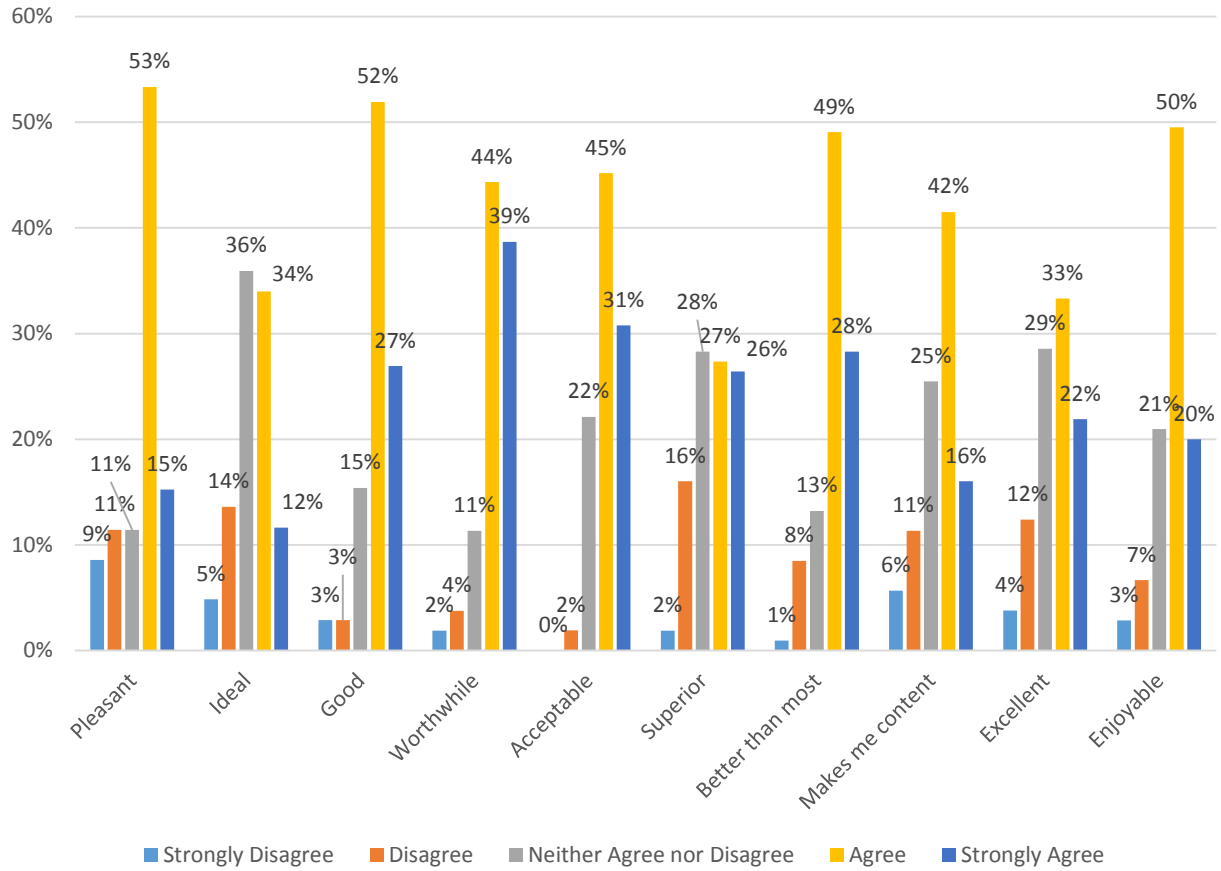


Chart 9. Perceived Union Support

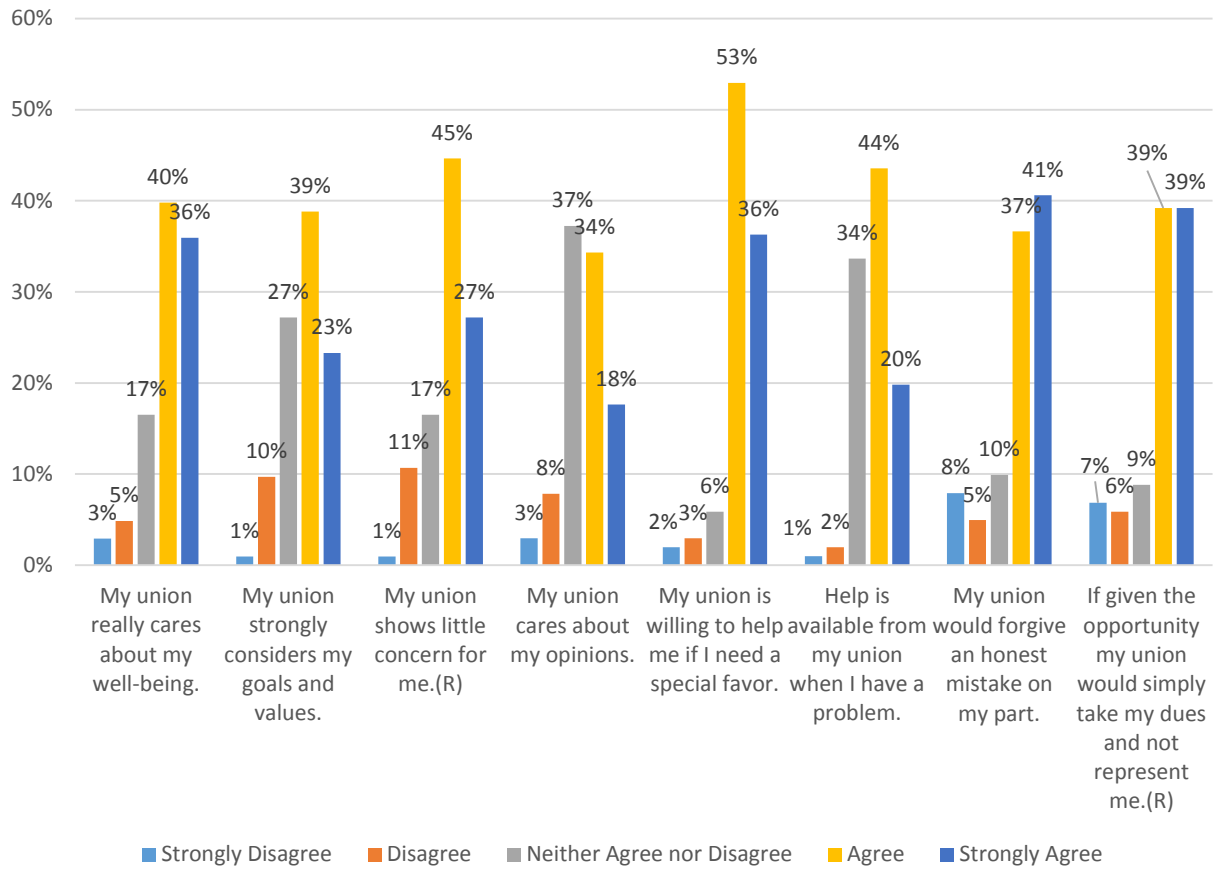


Chart 10. Perceived Organizational Support

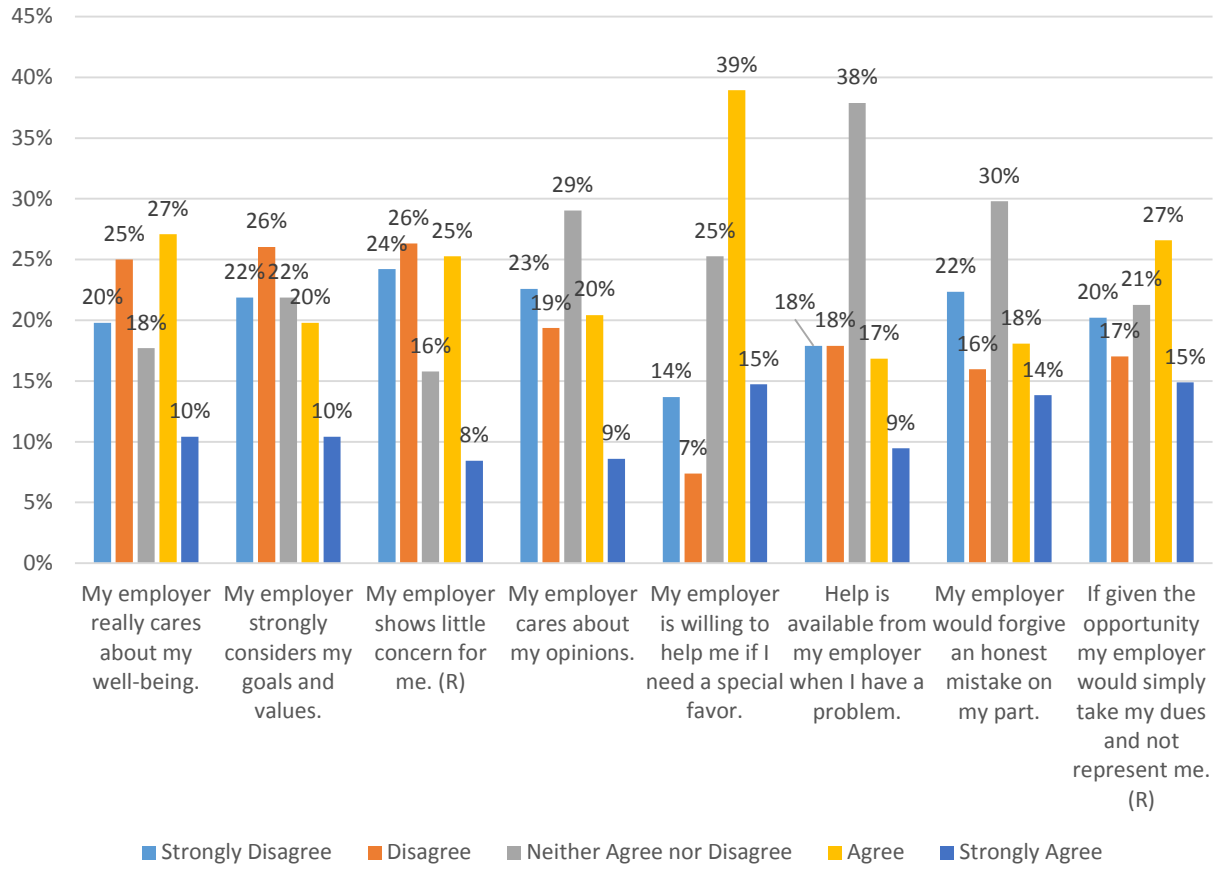


Chart 11. Perceived Union Impact

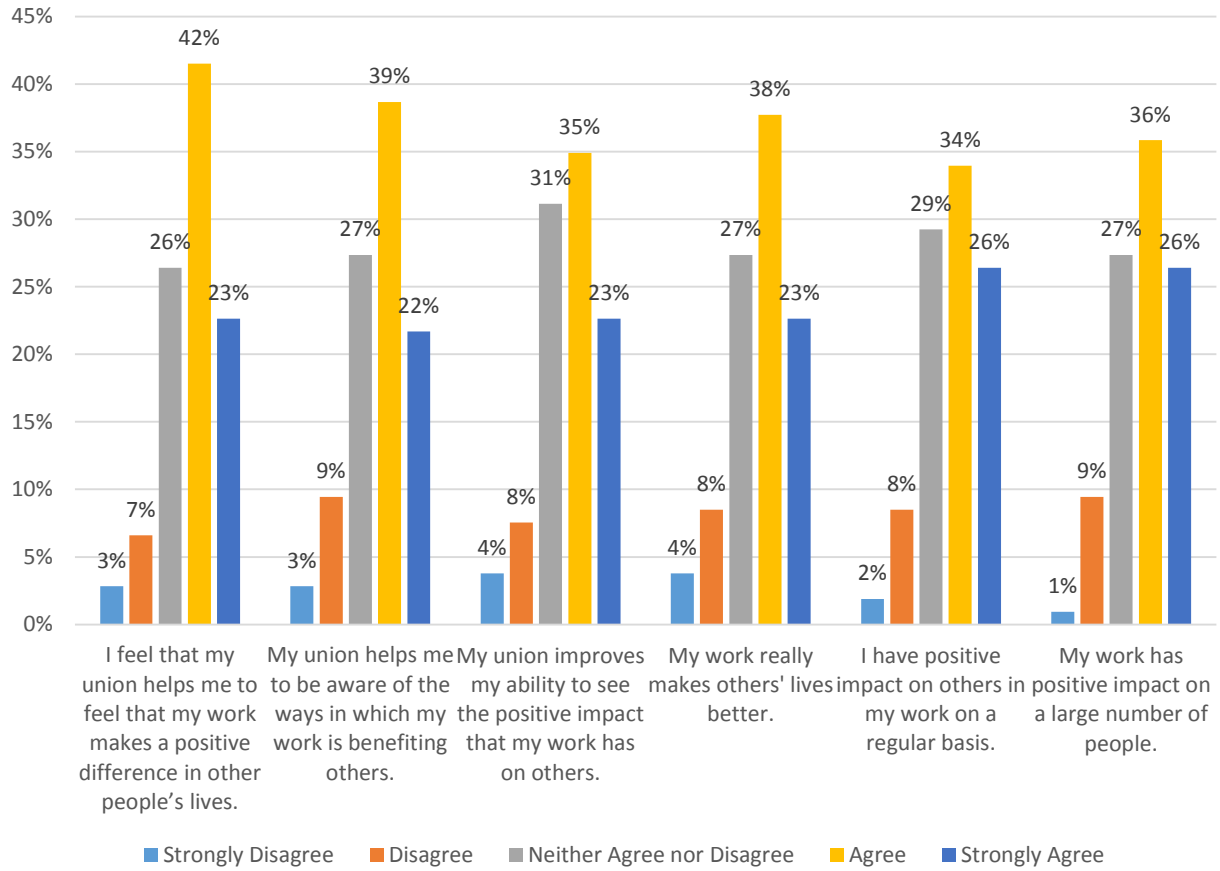


Chart 12. Union Ethical Climate

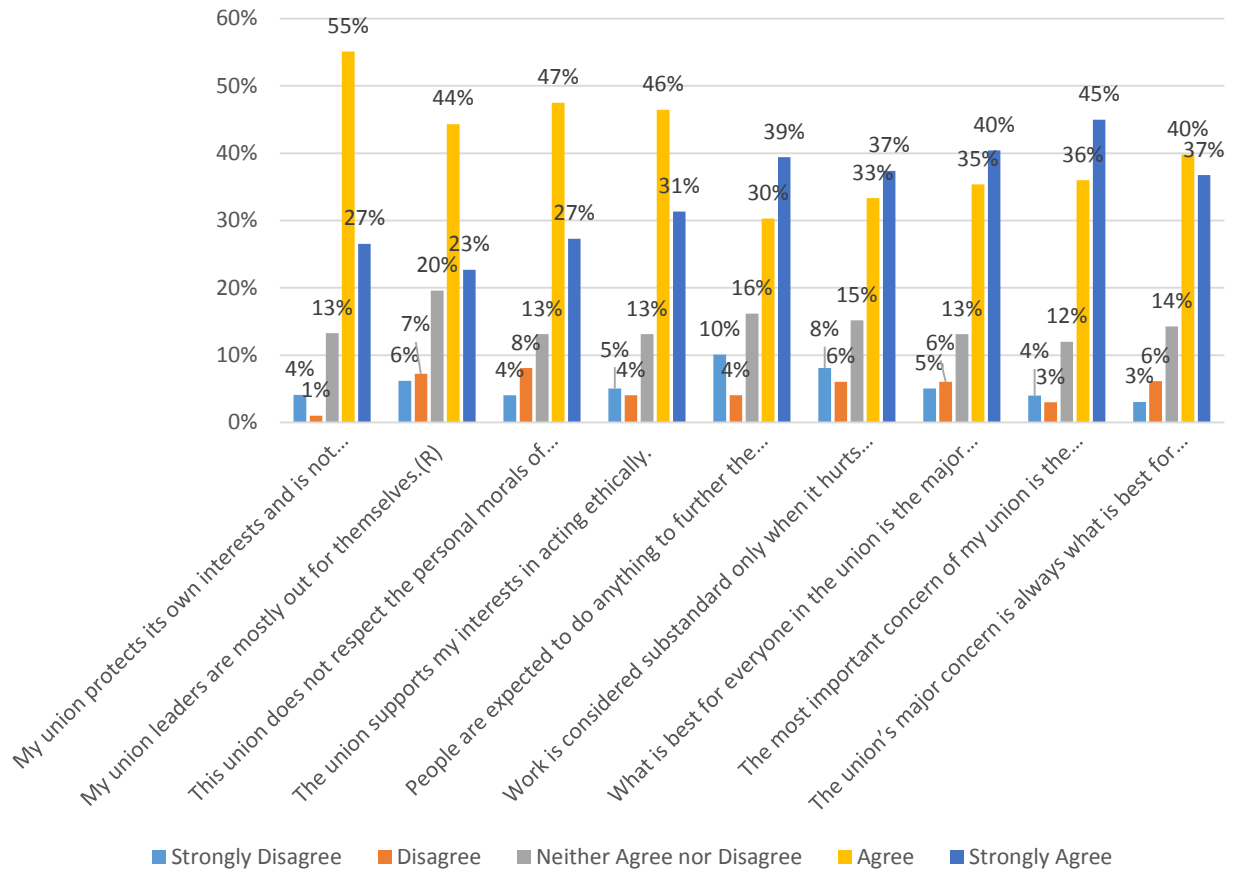


Chart 13. Union Prosocial Values

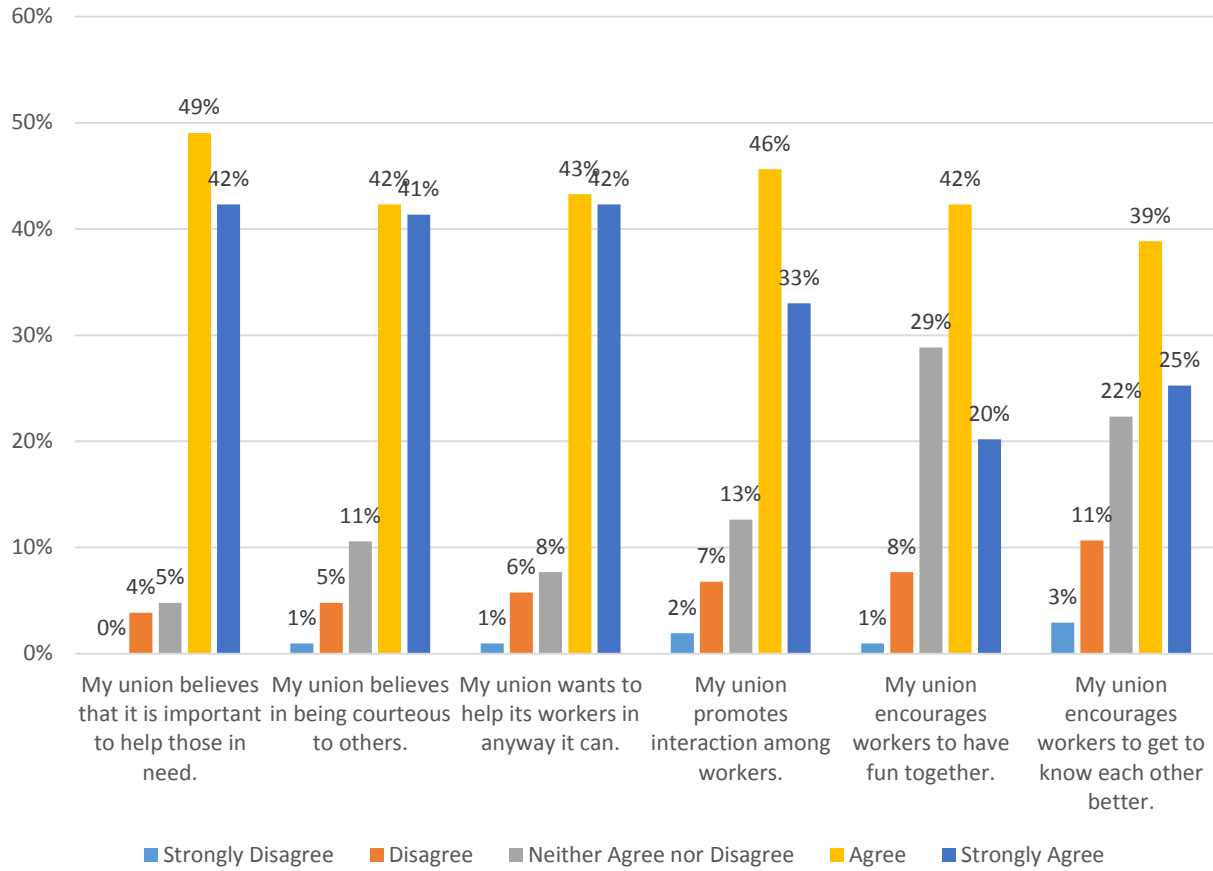


Chart 14. Relatedness to Union and Coworkers

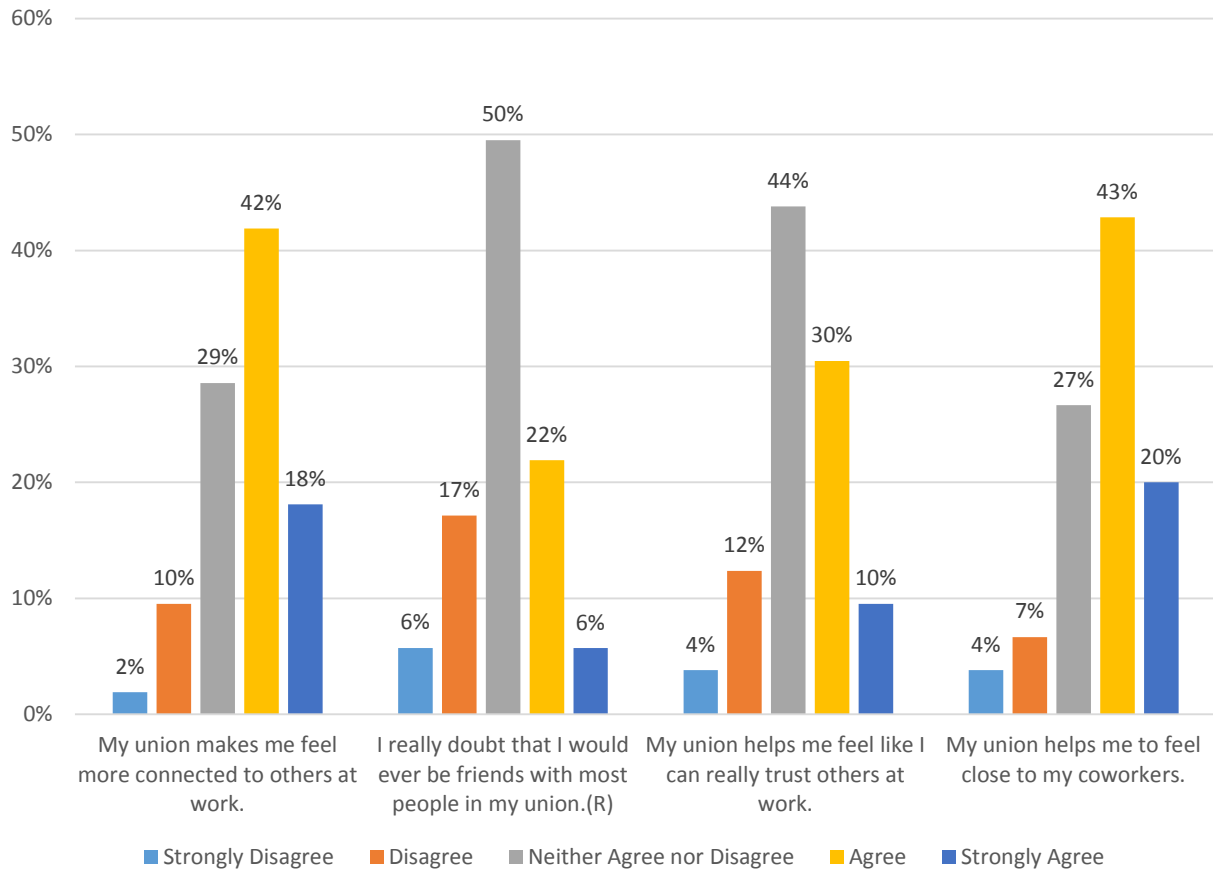


Chart 15. Identification with Union

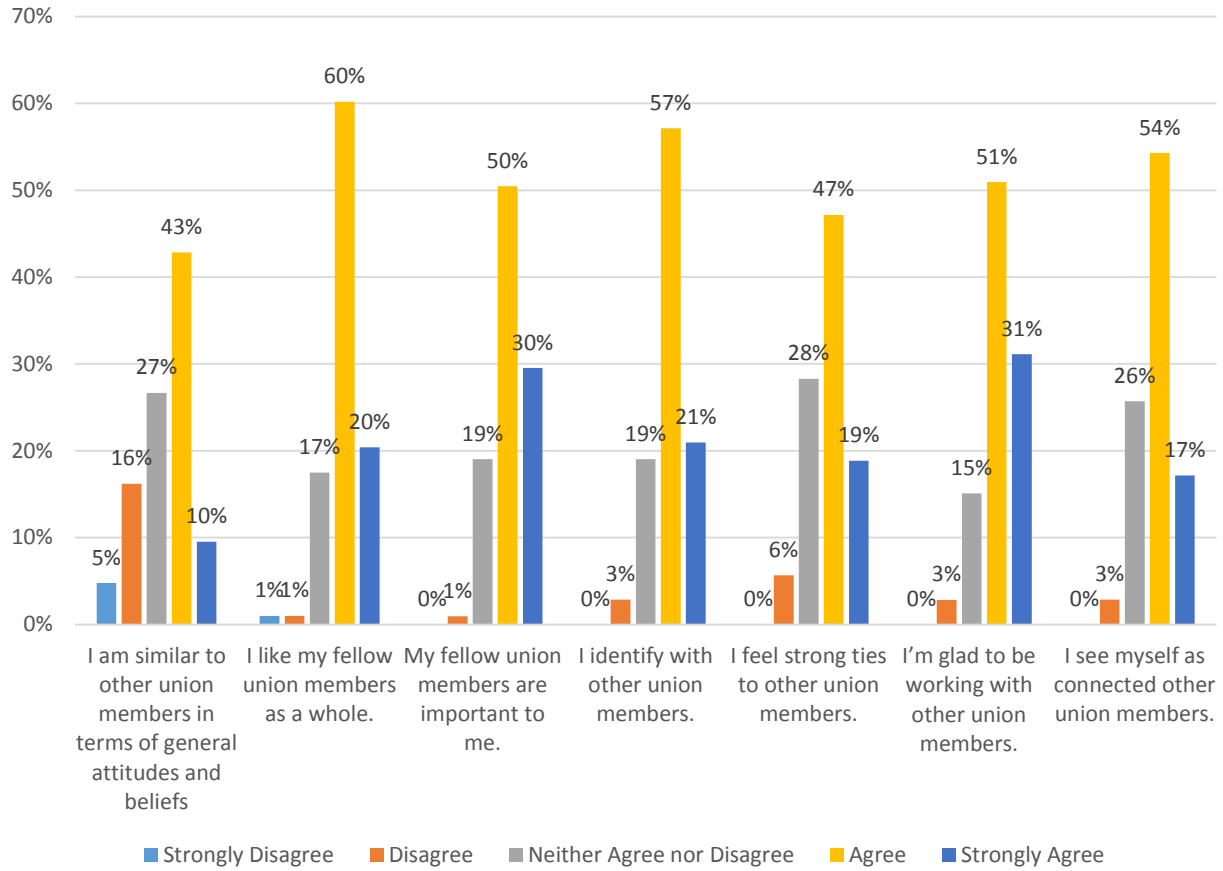


Chart 16. Commitment to Union

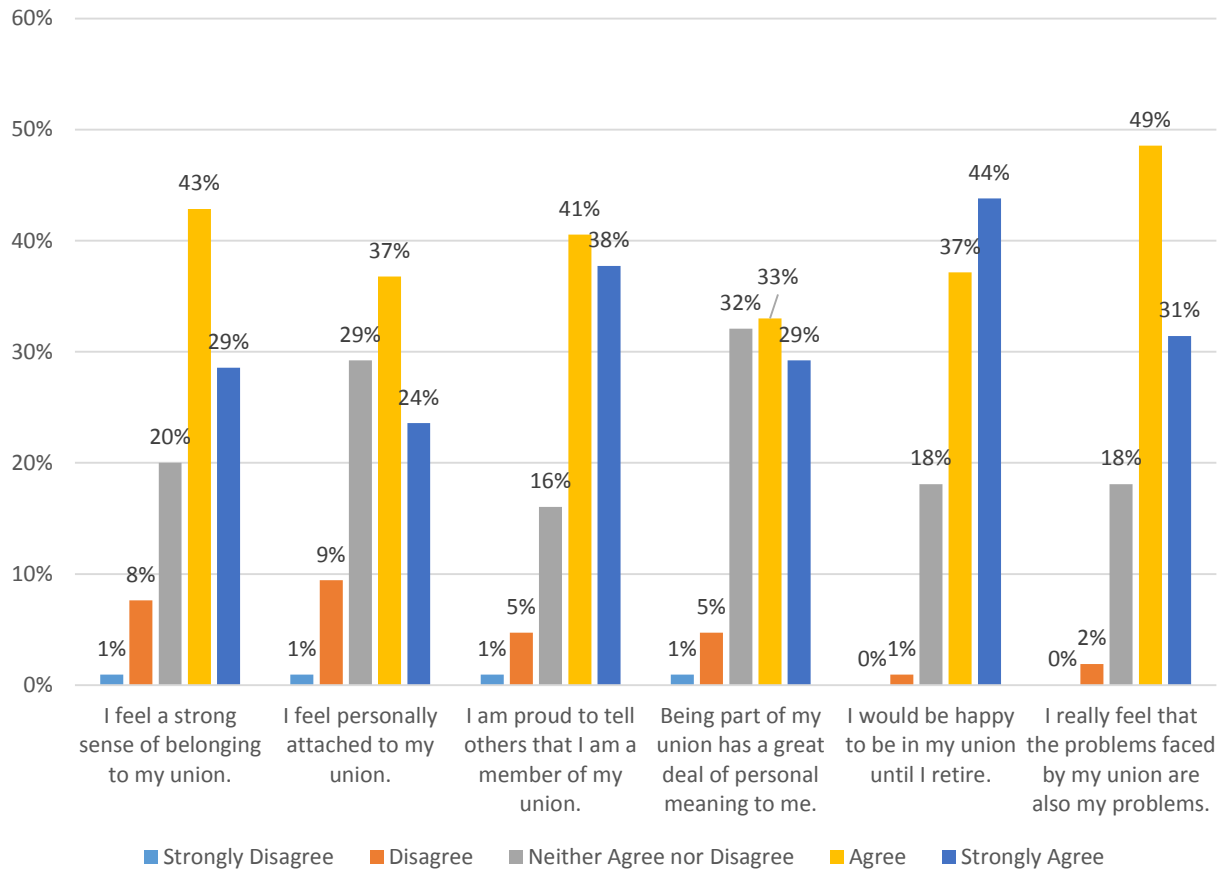


Chart 17. Competence and Union Support

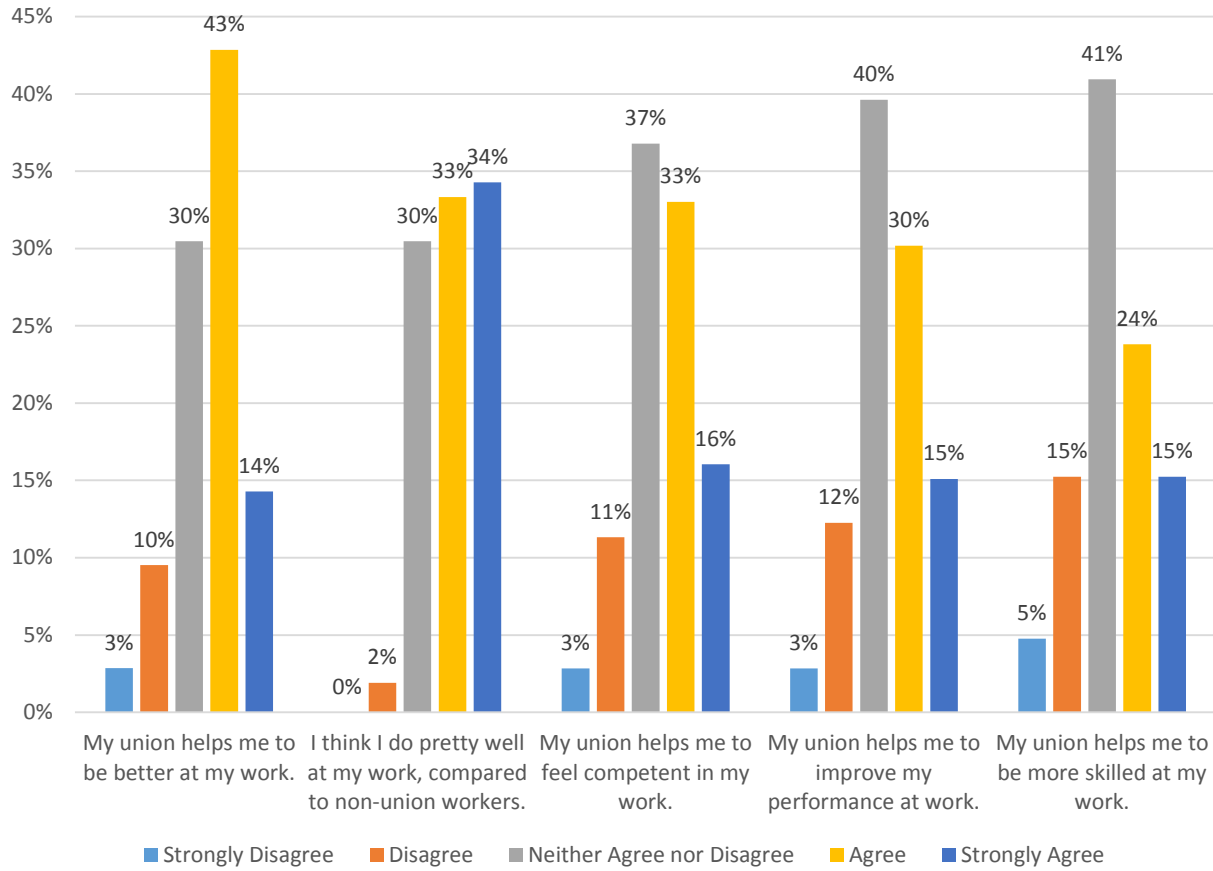


Chart 18. Perceived Choice and Union Support

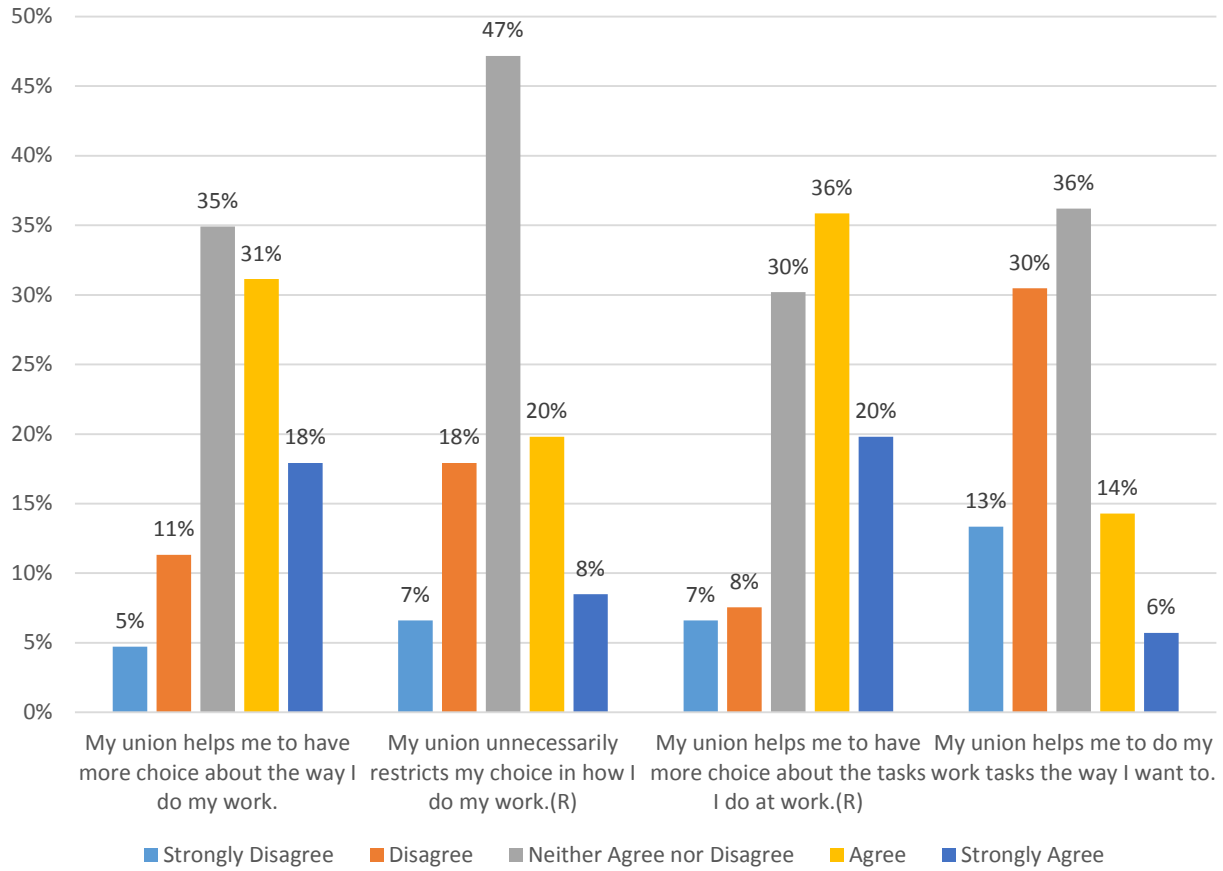


Chart 19.

Scale Composites, Personal Characteristics

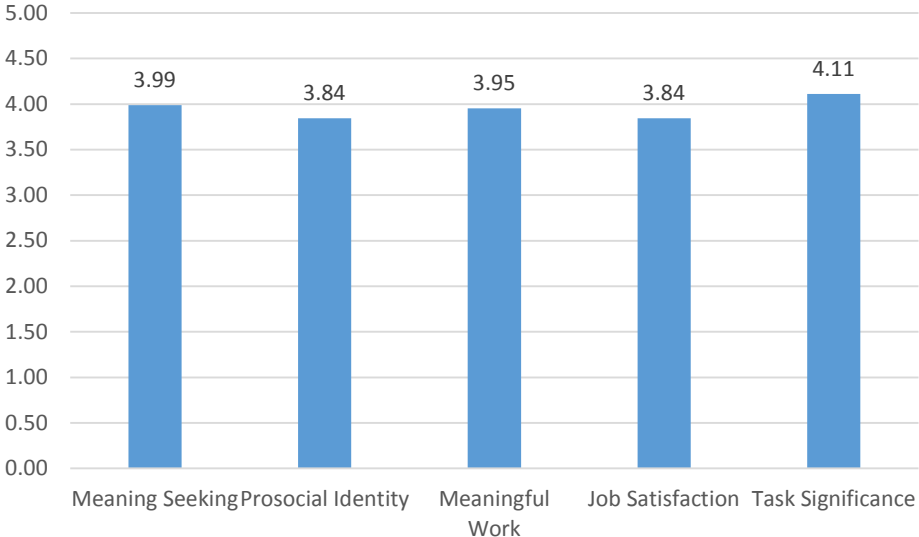


Chart 20. Scale Composites, Organization/Union Characteristics #1

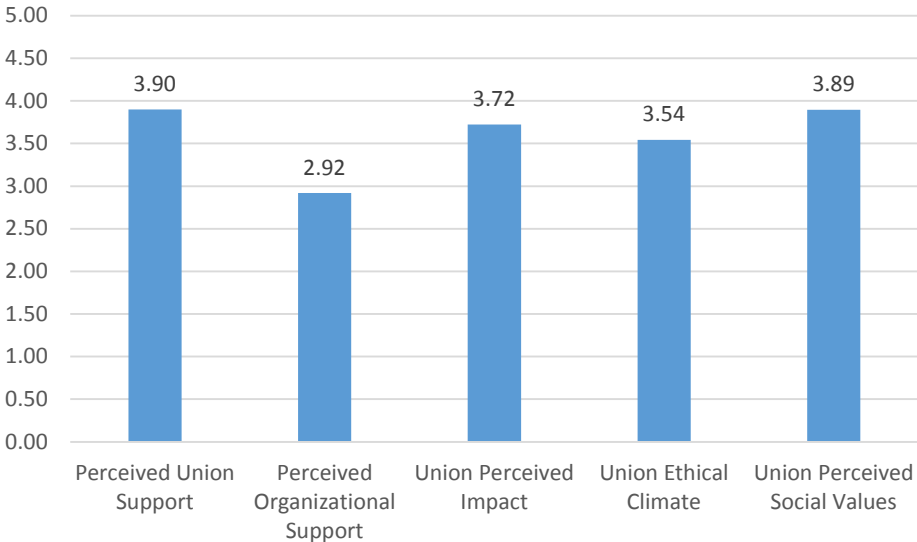


Chart 21. Scale Composites, Organization/Union Characteristics #2

