THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF TRADE UNIONS

by

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Abstract

This paper attempts to examine some major correlates of union political policies. It seeks to develop more fully and test a hypothesis advanced by S. M. Lipset that the political activities of trade unions are related to the social values of the society in which unions operate. A brief exposition of the values dominant in American society suggests that they may be related to the political neutralism so characteristic of American unions. Similarly, the deep and continuing involvement in party politics so characteristic of European unions appears to be related to values dominant in European countries. In Canada where both American and European values serve as models political policies of unions have been far less uniform than those of American or European labour organizations. Convention records show that Canadian craft unions until recently followed the example set by most American unions and stayed aloof from party politics. Instead they attempted to influence political authority through pressure group activities. Industrial unions, however, followed the example set by European labour organizations and supported the programme of a Socialist party. D.B.S. records indicate that from 1946 to 1957 craft unions experienced far less unemployment than industrial unions. When, after 1957, unemployment in Canada increasingly affected craft organizations many of these also joined the ranks of their industrial colleagues in supporting a Socialist party. Such findings
suggest that unionists, like Canadians generally, are exposed to two sets of different value standards. Whether they find the European or the American model more appealing appears to be related to their economic well being. The lack of concern with the state and the emphasis on individual achievement and competition inherent in American values need a climate of relatively high economic security in order to survive among Canadian unionists. In the absence of such security most Canadian workers give up the 'American dream'. Instead they tend to realize their common interest and voice demands for 'a change of the system'.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>SOCIAL VALUES, ECONOMIC FACTORS, AND UNIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Union Theories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The 'Business' and the 'Movement' Model of Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values and the Nature of Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Method and Hypothesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>ECONOMIC FACTORS AND UNION TYPES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployment and Movement Unionism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Influence of Market Elasticity: The B.C. Building Trades: An Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>THE NATURE OF VALUES EXPRESSED BY MOVEMENT AND BUSINESS UNIONISTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Industries in which the Majority of Workers is Represented by Unions Originally Affiliated with the C.C.L. or T.L.C.
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Average Yearly Employment By Industries in which C.C.L. or T.L.C. Unions Predominate</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Average Yearly Employment in the B. C. Construction Industry</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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CHAPTER I

SOCIAL VALUES, ECONOMIC FACTORS, AND UNIONS

It is a common observation that unions are phenomena occurring in all industrial societies. In the industrial nations of the Old World they have been more closely associated with the labour parties of various kinds. This association of unions with a political party, however, has not occurred so far in the New World, at least not to any comparable degree. The question then arises: are North American unions non-political or are they political in different ways?

Ever since unions became firmly established in North American society they have been subject to study by various disciplines of the social sciences. They are studied by economists, psychologists, and sociologists. More recently, the recognition that "unions are here to stay", has undoubtedly contributed to the development of a new speciality, "Industrial Relations". Each of these disciplines studies unions from a particular point of view. Yet, without running the risk of committing serious error, none can afford to completely ignore the findings of the others. American unions have been studied extensively, yet their political aspects have so far largely remained a puzzle. By "political aspects" we refer to the extent to which unions seek to influence government policies, and also the ways in which this interest is pursued.

One of the many ways in which unions may be studied
sociologically is to view them as parts of, and embedded in, a wider social structure. This is a way of saying that they share certain characteristics with other institutions and are also at the same time differentiated from them. This frame of reference, rather than many other possibles, seems suitable where one's interest lies in the political aspects of unions. Since this problem is, however, an intricate part of the general nature of unions as quasi-voluntary associations it may be in order to indicate briefly some of the major labour union theories developed so far.

Union Theories

Mark Perlman has probably gone further than any other writer in systematizing the different labour union theories published in America.¹ He describes five major theoretical constructs. Each of these proposes to explain union conduct. These propositions could be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The Moral-Conditioning Theory:

(a) According to this theory the union is considered an educational institution. The workers are taught propriety, self-restraint and decent self-expression.

(b) As individual workers progress in their education they can be gradually admitted to have a controlling voice in industrial decision making.

(c) Ultimately factories will enjoy full representative

¹Mark Perlman, Labour Union Theories in America, Row Peterson, 1958, p. 80 ff.
government through the complete and harmonious cooperation of all producers in a given firm.

(d) The individual is attracted to the union on the basis of his need for self-realization. As an educational system, the union functions to help the worker develop all his personal potentialities in the factory just as church and school assist him in developing his capacities for religious or political activities.

2. The Social Revolutionary Theory:

(a) In this theory unions arise as an expression of class conflict which itself results from bourgeois exploitation of the working class. This exploitation is caused by technological changes in production techniques.

(b) Unions are a useful device in the workers' inevitable class war against the bourgeoisie.

(c) As a result of the liquidation of private property unions will acquire new functions in the classless society, assuming these functions will tend to hinge on an increase of productivity and on political and social education.

3. The Psychological-Environment Theory:

(a) This proposal views unionism as resulting from the interaction of three factors: i) the cultural lag associated with technological change; ii) the effects
of economic insecurity on the attitude of the workers; iii) manifestations of human instincts which vary by sub-culture and ethnicity.

(b) Whether union demands are more radical or moderate results from the interaction of these three factors. A union will tend towards radicalism where i) old-fashioned work habits are valued, ii) unemployment causes originally independent individuals to acquire a "class conscious" outlook, and iii) ethnic and lower class values permit a more free expression of aggressive tendencies. A union will be more moderate where i) the membership values technical progress, ii) unemployment is no problem, and iii) members are predominantly "full-blooded" Americans and "middle-class" in outlook. But whatever form a combination of these factors will take, a union's demands are ultimately always reflections of the attempts of individuals to adjust to technological and social changes.

(c) An implication of this theory would be: experienced psychologists can so "readjust" workers that through "right" education they become anti-union rather than pro-union.

4. The Economic-Welfare Theory:
(a) This theory assumes that the sole aim of the workers is the search for greater job security, higher wages
and improved working conditions.
(b) Rationally orientated towards maximization of returns in the above three factors, workers seize upon unions as a least cost means.
(c) Should other means turn out to be more efficient, unions will disappear.

5. The Social-Institution Theory:
(a) Representatives of this position derive both the necessity and desirability of unions from the necessity and desirability of democracy.
(b) Social-institutionalists assume the existence of social pluralism.
(c) From this they derive a definition of democratic government as that government which results from the interaction of different groups and factions.
(d) Unions and employer associations are seen as necessary prerequisites for the extension of democratic government to the industrial sector of society.
(e) Unions follow policies, "intended to give to job possession the type of property rights already guaranteed to real-estate and chattel ownership".
(f) Just as the state, through the interaction of parties and different pressure groups, exercises control over civil rights, so unions and employer groups exercise hegemony over job rights.
One outstanding characteristic of these five theories lies in their differences. The sole common denominator appears to be the fact that they discuss unions. There the common features end. But this one common element also appears to reveal one common weakness. Unions were viewed as essentially homogeneous phenomena. None attempted to take into account differences between unions. According to Perlman, the first three theories have not survived the Great Depression. While there are scattered pieces of legislation which can be accounted for in terms of parts of these three theories, most events on the post-depression American labour scene appear to be explainable in terms of theories 4. and 5. With these we have "bread-and-butter realism" on the one hand, and "democratic idealism" on the other.

"Business" and "Movement" Unionism

American unions are declared to be "non-political", though it is admitted that Gompers' "political voluntarism" does not preclude engaging in politics altogether. According to Taft, the worker is not an 'ideologue' and usually wishes to improve his standard of living through his union. He is only mildly, if at all, interested in revolutionary change. This view is shared by Barbash, Kerr, and

2 Ibid., p. 221.

Dunlop. In his economic analysis of the factors determining a given wage level, Dunlop found it useful to treat the union like a firm, i.e., rationally oriented towards maximization of economic gain. Ross, studying the same problem, comes to the opposite conclusion: "A trade union is a political organization and cannot be expected to address itself principally to the attainment of economic objectives."  

Barbash describes these opposite views as two popular stereotypes of unions prevailing among students of industrial relations. First, there is the "conservative" union, an organization being very similar to business enterprises. The "leaders" are those who possess good salesmanship, i.e., are able to secure the highest possible price for the services offered by the members in a market situation. The recent trends in business towards professionalization also tend to have their counterpart in business unions. This becomes reflected in the image of the union leader as the "professional negotiator" committed to a career that promises "success",


i.e., upward social mobility. For our purposes it is important to recognize that this type of union leader accepts the high value placed on achievement by North American society. Such an orientation permits commitment to a career and allows him to accept a "better opportunity" in another union or even "on the other side of the fence", i.e., as company official. The "bread-and-butter-realist" is usually found in craft unions. His aim is to sell a specialized service (an intricate skill) at the highest possible price. The craftsman regards the lower wage level of unskilled labour as being justified. For him it is "natural" that "those who haven't learned anything" receive less pay. He thus views with some distrust the Socialists who want to make everybody equal. On the other hand, the craftsman is usually aware that technological change is, of course, always a potential threat since it might make his skill obsolete. Therefore, technological innovation generates an inherent tension between craft and labour unions wherever semi- and unskilled machine operators encroach upon the job jurisdiction of the traditional crafts. This tension frequently takes the form of competition for scarce jobs. The craftsman uses his union for the defense of opportunities for individual achievement by claiming that the job requires skills only he commands. As a consequence, craft unions seem to

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7 This does not imply that there are no differences between businessman and business unionist.
experience a high incidence of jurisdictional disputes. Where the employer is highly dependent on available skills as he is, for example, in building construction, there also tends to be a relatively high degree of labour-management co-operation. Such co-operation is supported by the similarity in outlook of "business unionist" and "businessman".

Secondly, there is the "progressive" union. Here the trade union office is a calling. One works for "principles" and for "humanity". In brief, the "super-personal" is an important element of this orientation. These union norms are in contradiction to the cultural emphasis on "individual achievement". They imply instead a concern for the "common people". This type of union is usually found among the "industrial" organizations where no skill can be offered at the highest price, because what is available is an undifferentiated service, i.e. labour power. In contrast to the business union, the industrial union is said to be characterized by certain reformist attitudes of its members and leaders. These range from the advocacy of New Deal reform to Socialist and Communist ideologies. Industrial unions also have a stronger inclination to engage in independent political action. This is presumably based on a solidarity of interest and outlook of all those equally disadvantaged. Since there is little, if any, differentiation in the services offered there

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are relatively few jurisdictional disputes. The difference between these two types of unions is usually described in terms of "class-consciousness" where the union resembles more a socio-political movement as characterized by Blumer, and "craft-consciousness" where the union resembles more a business enterprise. Craft-consciousness may under certain conditions encompass a whole industry. Where this is the case it may be appropriate to speak of "industry-consciousness". The forms of industry-consciousness may be as variable as the conditions leading to it. It may involve one union, several unions, or unions and employers. The opposition of the United Mine Workers to power development on the St. Lawrence Seaway may be given as an example involving one union. The advocacy of protective tariffs against Japanese clothing imports by textile, men's and women's clothing unions and employers exemplifies the involvement of several unions and employers. Barbash's central objective is to destroy the notion that a given ideological characterization of a union or its leadership implies a more or less fixed "pattern of behaviour". "The use of

9Cf. H. Blumer, "Social Movements", in Lee, M.A. (Ed.) Principles of Sociology, New York, Barnes & Noble, 1946, p. 199, who characterizes social movements as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life. Their origins lie in conditions of unrest and dissatisfaction with the current form of life and wishes and hopes for a new system of living. They develop in stages typically including the following: (1) agitation, (2) development of esprit de corps, (3) formation of an ideology, (4) development of operating tactics.
ideological designations tells us nothing about the way in which unions function in their day-to-day activities as unions.\(^1\)

However, some evidence supporting the usefulness of a classificatory scheme differentiating between business and progressive unionists has been gathered by Hall.\(^10\) On the basis of his study, the business unionist may be found more frequently in unions where officers are appointed or at least have a decisive influence on their periodic re-election. The "progressive" union leader develops in unions where such job security is absent. Hall further points out that from the point of view of management the less democratically appointed union official may be a more "responsible" agent to deal with in collective bargaining. This may be due to the fact that in his position he appears to be less dependent upon membership approval than the elected official.

Whereas Barbash rejects the distinction between class and craft-consciousness as merely stereotypic, it may be argued that it provides useful models for the kind of analysis here attempted. In other words, an understanding of a union's political ideology cannot be excluded from an analysis of union behaviour. While it may be quite true that ideology is a relatively useless variable for the explanation

\(^{10}\)N.A. Hall, The Significance of Environment to the Role of the Business Agent, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1961.
of the daily administrative tasks of a union, this does not preclude the possibility that it is very significantly related to major policies. As a matter of fact, "the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.), in contrast to the Trades and Labour Congress (T.L.C.), .... endorsed the socialist programme of an opposition party". More recently the Canadian Labour Congress (C.L.C., the federation of all unions in Canada) followed suit and endorsed the programme of the New Democratic Party. The fact that it was the federation of industrial unions in Canada (CCL) who started this move towards alignment with and support for a third party in Canada represents evidence of the role of ideology in union behaviour which can hardly be overlooked.

Mills maintains that there is little question that at one point or another in the history of almost any union, either the "business" or the "movement" spirit was dominant. These two are mutually incompatible. Movement unionism represents a leverage for the change of the current framework of political economy, whereas business unions act as

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instruments for more advantageous integration with it.

Kerr suggests a relationship between types of unions and corresponding types of industrializing elites.\textsuperscript{14} Underlying this relationship appears to be the assumption of a high degree of consensus on the major values in society. Thus the worker "responds appropriately" to a middle class elite approaching him within the framework of arriving at a "deal". He also behaves in a business-like manner. Under a dynastic elite, on the other hand, which restricts the scope of legitimate action of workers' organizations severely, workers respond to political parties bent on challenging the dynastic elite. The union tends to be a movement. In this case, the dynastic elite is no longer the relevant elite. As a historical anachronism, it represents an era gone by. Major consensus exists on those values represented by the new political parties.

Selig Perlman relates the psychology of economic groups to the actual economic opportunities with which they are confronted.\textsuperscript{15} This is an interesting variant of the psychological environment theory. Indeed, the author unwittingly introduces Marx' concept of "objective interests". The manualists' philosophy is one of "scarcity of opportunity".

\textsuperscript{14} C. Kerr, \textit{op. cit.}

This stands in contrast to the dominant creed of equal opportunity and individual achievement. While the labour movement, subject to these values, first played a reactionary role, clamoring for free competition, being "anti-monopoly" and against "big business", it later reversed its stand, accepting big business as inevitable and envisaging unionism as a counterforce. Thus labour is oriented towards mastery over job opportunities and wage levels leaving the ownership of the business to the employers or shareholders.

A more sophisticated typology of unions based on a scale of ideological and psychological attitudes and general personality traits of union leaders has been proposed by Hoxie.\textsuperscript{16} With regard to the political role of labour, the form political action can take is being related to the "political culture". Labour movements will be different from each other when the political cultures in which the unions function are different. Hoxie's five "pure" types of unions are based on various combinations of the following variables: value, influence and power. "Value" refers mainly to the extent to which union membership shares the major values prevalent in society at a given time. The question is: whether and to what degree has a union developed its own sub-culture. Suffice it to say, that according to his typology, our "business union" is a value-sharing, influence competing union.

Movement unions, on the other hand, are value creating, power-sharing labour movements.

Galenson links business unionism with 1) high average labour income; 2) a fair degree of employment stability; and 3) sufficiently strong and independent union organization. According to Andras the alleged political disinterest of American labour turns out to be but a refusal to consistently align themselves with one of the two major parties. Apart from that, politics is played according to the principle of "support your friends and punish your enemies". Labour supports individual Congress men rather than parties. The reason for this policy rests on two characteristics of the American system of government, viz. the separation of the executive from the legislature and the system of primary election. The first means that a Congress-man can afford to vote against his party. Since there is a fixed term of office the party will never be forced to go to the country for votes before the term expires. The second means that whoever wins the primaries writes the party policies, but the candidates appear on the ballots as candidates of a party. In some states, furthermore, a particular party is so strongly entrenched that it will


carry the majority vote regardless of who won the nomination. Given these conditions plus a prevailing attitude that a third party is alien to "the American Way of Life", labour has found it, so far, more expedient to exercise influence through individuals within the established parties rather than seek a consistent alignment with one of the traditional parties or form a third one. Thus according to Lipset, a self-perpetuating political cycle develops in which

"community definition of a certain avenue of political action as the only legitimate one also limits the frame of reference within which politics may be represented. The elder Senator La Follette pointed this out, when explaining why he did not break with the Republican party, by saying: 'People will listen to me because I am a Republican'."  

It may be mentioned in this connection that the principle of "support your friends and punish your enemies", which is usually attributed to Gompers, was felt by the president of a Canadian industrial union to be a misrepresentation of Gompers' views. As evidence to this claim it was said that, a) "Gompers supported La Follette", and b) "that American unions have always supported the Democratic party". (sic)

In the Canadian parliamentary system, on the other hand, the ruling party cannot risk losing a vote of confidence since by custom it is then required to call a new election.

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20 Joe Morris, President, District 1, I.W.A., personal interview.
As a result the M. P. has to toe the party line. The absence of primaries and the very infrequent party conventions place control in the hands of a few, both in Tory and Liberal parties. This, according to Andras, makes it more difficult to influence individuals in the parties than in the American case. Hence labour, if it seeks political action, must turn to a third party such as the CCF. This in itself would tend to make political action of the Canadian labour unions more visible and prominent than the political activity of their American counterparts.

However, there are other factors which appear at least equally important to an understanding of the tendency of Canadian labour to support a third party. According to Jamieson the failure of the old parties to enact a "New Deal" comparable to that of the United States until the closing years of the Second World War, "more than any other single factor, underlay the rise of the new opposition parties in Canada". This delay was more than a mere chance event; it suggests important differences in social values between Canada and the United States. In the U. S. the "New Deal" was a response to the high value based on equality. If individual achievement ranks high in the scale of values, then a system that does not at least provide for equality of opportunity cannot be perceived as just. Canada stresses equality and individual achievement

\textsuperscript{21}Andras, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{22}Jamieson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 31.
less and does so in the absence of an elite of aristocratic character. If standards of 'noblesse oblige' were present, one might argue, a higher proportion of government expenditures would be allocated to provide social services. In other words, it may well be the absence of aristocratic values in Canada that forces unions to seek a wide range of social services provided in other countries, notably continental Europe and Sweden, through legislation. On this point there is little difference between Canada and the United States. In both countries social security measures play a more prominent role in collective bargaining than is the case in Europe. Since, however, individual achievement seems less emphasized in Canada the collective pursuit of common interests attains, it appears, a higher degree of legitimacy than in the U. S. Therefore, collaboration between unions and a third party may be a less tabooed undertaking for Canadians than for Americans. Superimposed on this pattern there are the deep ethnic divisions, particularly the French-English division, on the Canadian scene.

Ethnicity, age, and personality characteristics of union leaders are variables, however, which we will largely ignore. While these may be important in individual cases, it seems highly dubious whether chance alone could operate to selectively place certain types—as for instance the first generation

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sons of European socialist fathers, the younger, or the idealists—on the staff of industrial unions. Similarly, it may be quite true that to some extent the membership of a union is always "brainwashed" by its leadership. That is to say, the leaders impose their will on the membership. Again, however, even a high degree of brainwashing would hardly explain the apparently consistent differences in political orientation between craft and industrial unions.

From the foregoing it becomes apparent that there are many contradictions in the various theories designed to account for union conduct. The nature of these theoretical evaluations is furthermore such that it seems difficult—and in the opinion of Mark Perlman, impossible—to construct one general theory out of the many. However, given the idea of the dual aspects of unions, i.e. that either the "movement" or the "business" characteristics can predominate, an attempt will now be made to relate this duality to opposed values in Canadian society.

Values and the Nature of Unions

Much in Canada seems a peculiar blend of New and Old World influences. Lipset, and Naegele, commented on these "in between" characteristics. "At the moment", writes

Ibid.

Naegele, "it is the 'intermediate' character of the Canadian consensus that is of concern. Both the English and the American models are regarded with positive and negative emotions and judgments. Both are partly envied and imitated, admitted, used, opposed, and criticized." We may now briefly turn our attention to these opposed value influences in so far as they appear relevant to our problem.

According to Parsons the predominant value-orientation of American Society is the universalistic-achievement complex.\textsuperscript{26} Since universalistic and achievement values as well as their opposites, vis. particularism and ascription, form an essential part of the argument to follow, it may be useful to briefly define these terms in a manner compatible with our purpose.

Values assign differential importance to general standards of performance or qualities. By value-orientation we simply mean a more or less consistent preference of certain general norms rather than others. These general norms or standards define and guide 'appropriate' behaviour in varying situations. Universalistic values assign greater importance to generalized standards in terms of the way in which ends are attained. Efficiency, effectiveness, economy, and competence are such standards. Their universalism lies in their applicability to all instrumental behaviour, i.e. conduct engaged in for an ulterior end. Since universalism excludes concern

\textsuperscript{26} Talcott Parsons, \textit{The Social System}, Glencoe, Free Press, 1951, pp. 59-112.
with any particular relations it stands in direct opposition to 'personal connections', and considerations for kinship and community relations. Consequently, particularistic values can be defined as assigning greater importance to generalized standards in terms of membership in groups.

Achievement and ascriptive values can be defined in similar ways. Achievement values assign greater importance to generalized standards in terms of positions attained through effort. Ascriptive values, on the other hand, assign greater importance to generalized standards in terms of positions assigned by others regardless of effort. Positions, as used here, do include such relatively loosely specified 'ideas' as the American 'self-made man', or the concept of man as the bearer of 'human rights' that was born in the French Revolution. It seems evidently clear that the self-made man represents achievement orientations. On the other hand, to have human rights it suffices to be born human. Human rights are ascribed to the individual as part of the definition of human being, although it is always possible, in a sense, to 'undo' these ascriptions. Man can by certain acts place himself outside the realm of society. Whether such ascriptive qualities are human rights, or age, race, or social class, they are only 'overcome' in exceptional cases. Principally, they are independent of effort.

In American society the combination of universalism with achievement leads to a high valuation of goals and instrumental
conduct furthering these. The goals themselves must be in accord with universalistic values. This means that the goals must be attainable independently of 'personal' or kinship connections. Two important conclusions can be derived from this statement. Firstly, "promotion of the welfare of a collectivity as such tends to be ruled out". The group is hardly ever an end in itself. For the predominance of universalistic-achievement orientation attributes to almost any kind of groups instrumental significance. One joins in order to get ahead, i.e. to further one's own interests. This fact seems to form the basis of 'individualism' in American society. Secondly, universalistically defined goals for achievement could hardly be absolute. For an attainment once and for all would make achievement value meaningless. According to Parsons American society values individual achievement in itself. This is defined as a continuous process rather than the attainment of fixed definite goals. Such openness can perhaps best be characterized by the word 'more'. One strives for more, be it more knowledge, more power or more wealth. The high value placed on equality is also of significance for our problem. The importance lies in its transformation into a belief in 'equal opportunity'. By belief we mean that equal opportunity

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27 Ibid., pp. 182-191.
28 Ibid., p. 183.
is not only regarded as good but that it is also believed to exist in fact. A further concomitant of individual achievement and equality of opportunity is the high value placed on competition. Competition is both a vehicle towards 'success', and an agent for the just distribution of rewards. For it insures that all those 'who have got it' and who try hard enough will succeed, whereas the others must fail. A belief in equal opportunity forces those 'who do not make it' to blame only themselves. Competition may be between individuals or groups. In the latter case the value placed on individual achievement assures that one competes 'through' a group but hardly ever 'for' a group. That is to say, group power may be used as a weapon in the process of individual competition; but the group itself has merely instrumental significance.

The current hero of American society, the corporation executive, exemplifies this pattern. He is highly mobile. Perpetually on the lookout for 'better opportunities' he shifts his allegiance from 'one big happy family' (the company) to another, as he propels himself upward on the occupational ladder.

There is one other concomitant of the high value placed on instrumental conduct which is important in this discussion. This predominating utilitarian outlook leads to a strong emphasis on 'specificity'. Following Parsons\(^\text{29}\) we define

\(^{29}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 65-66.}\)
specificity as referring to a disposition which clearly circumscribes the scope of interest one has in one's relations to other persons, groups, or institutions. One example of such interaction characterized by specificity may suffice. A approaches B with a demand. B responds with a surprised look and suggests to A that his demands go beyond B's obligation to A. Then A has to justify his demands, i.e. he is forced to justify the inclusion of a demand. The relation, therefore, is specific. Its obligations on both sides are both delimited and specified from the outset. On the other hand, where B has to explain and justify why the demand is to be excluded, such a relation is 'diffuse'.

In specific relationships, by their very nature, one is 'product' rather than 'person' oriented, and only a small sector of the other, his specified role obligations, is relevant. Specific relations, therefore, work against imputing generalized superiority to individuals, groups or social classes. This suggests that where the emphasis on specificity is strong leadership roles are always open to challenge. Such challenge is considered legitimate. In a way, there is a constant demand on the leader to demonstrate his competence. Especially where specificity occurs in combination with universalism and achievement as in the American case, there are strong pressures on the leader. The relevant question is always: how well does he perform? He must 'deliver the goods'. Should he fail to do so, or someone else come along who 'can do
better', the leader has to go.

The extent to which Canada is more elitist and more particularistic than the U. S. can be related to the European influence of particularism and ascription on the one hand, and the combination of universalism with ascription on the other.

Particularistic orientations place limitations on the choice of goals to which achievement values may be legitimately applied. A relative emphasis on obligations one has vis-a-vis groups and fellow members predominates throughout the value system. The accent is on collective rather than individual achievement. This leads to a more diffuse definition of leadership roles. In combination with ascription diffuseness works for the attribution of general superiority to the leader. Here the leadership position will be filled by him who best symbolizes all the values of the group. Where particularism occurs in combination with ascription it leads to an acceptance of the social conditions as they are. These two components of the value system may well be the noted influence of British 'conservatism' in the upper strata of Canadian society. Where, however, ascription is combined with universalism, as appears to be the case in some parts of


32K. D. Naegele, op. cit., p. 22.
Europe also, conceptions of an ideal state of affairs tend to prevail. We must refer here to a philosophy that embodies an ideal design for society in which everybody receives more justice. Such a conception of the 'ideal order' can lead to both conservatism as well as radicalism. Conservative tend to be those who regard the current system as the ideal. Radicalism results where an ideal state is set over against an existing one. The latter is then defined as corrupt and unjust.

Whereas the ideal picture of a New Order tends to be formulated in terms of universalistic and ascriptive values—that is equal status is incumbent upon all members of the system—there tends in fact to be a narrowing of this horizon, so that boundaries are drawn between those who believe and those who do not believe in its possibility. For purposes of organization, that is, particularism rather than universalism comes to be the prevailing mode of orientation. One is either 'for it' and 'belongs' or 'against it' and does not 'belong'.

From the foregoing it becomes evident that the "business union" as an ideal type is most compatible with the major values of achievement and universalism. As far as the leader is concerned his achievement is in some sense, of course, bound up with furthering the welfare of the unions. But it is the emphasis on specificity that makes him a career negotiator and permits him to move into other unions or even business bureaucracies. As a technical expert in the field of collective bargaining, who commands a high salary, he is
generally aloof from the ignorant and often apathetic membership. In one sense, technical competency makes him indispensable and thus works against the inherent instability of specific leadership roles. But this stability seems only guaranteed so long as he can at least maintain the union's position in a constantly changing wage structure. A two-fold demand on his job can be derived from the high value placed on achievement and competition as a means towards that end. His job is not only to increase remuneration but also to maintain the inequalities in compensation paid for different kinds of work. For an organization that seeks more advantageous integration with the current system the 'natural' form of political activity is the lobby and the pressure group. In both cases its sole concern lies with the advancement of its own specific interests. Accordingly, the CIO-PAC defined politics as "the science of how, who gets what, when and why". Carried to its logical conclusion such orientation would "characterize modern government and state as a

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34Cf. M. E. Dillion, "Pressure Groups", Am. Pol. Sc. Rev. 36, 1942, p. 471, who differentiates between lobby and pressure groups on the basis of the former working with undercover techniques whereas the latter seeks to influence public opinion.

neo-feudalism of mighty interest groups".\textsuperscript{36}

'Movement-unionism' on the other hand seems most compatible with particularism and ascription and a philosophy claiming universal validity. Leaders who do not work for money or success but have a 'calling' form an elite. They are oriented towards improving the 'fate of the working classes', through working toward the establishment of an order that brings justice to all. The stability of such more diffuse leadership roles depends very much on membership consensus regarding the various goals. Where such consensus is lacking, especially as regards the compatibility of economic and political, short and long run goals, there is the constant threat of factionalism. This is mitigated only by the emphasis on solidarity which derives from particularistic orientations. The "natural" form of political activity for an organization that is an instrument for the change of the system is the party. There are inherent tensions in the ideal-typical party which correspond closely to those driving forces that are at the core of social movements. These tensions, it seems, derive from the clash of particularistic orientations with the conception of a universally valid ideal order. For on the one hand, 'party' means always to be partisan, i.e. pay allegiance to one particular group and to be against

\textsuperscript{36}S. Neumann, "Zum Studium des Modernen Parteiwesens", in Schriften des Institutes für Politische Wissenschaft, Band 6, "Parteien in der Bundes Republik", Düsseldorf, Ring Verlag, 1955, pp. XVII-XXXI.
another. Yet on the other hand, every party addresses itself to all voters. For the 'typical' party this is never merely a matter of expediency. The party programme is a design for the whole society including all its diverse groups. The programme of the Communist Party, perhaps the 'purest' of the so-called 'class parties', may serve as an example. In the Communist Manifesto all prescriptions for political action are based on a universalistically defined goal. Once the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its mission, there will follow the total liberation of society and the total disappearance of "classes". Thus, the party always represents particular interests as well as the interests of all. This tension arising from the simultaneous representation of particular and universal interests provide the party with its characteristic dialectic that sets it apart from the pressure group and the lobby.37

To speak of the "relative predominance" of achievement and universalism in American society is a way of indicating the presence of opposed values. Yet the present state of knowledge regarding the variation of values is rather fragmentary. Kahl, after examining the relevant literature on 'social class and values', can only suggest that orientations of particularism and ascription appear to play a more prevalent role in the upper and the lower classes of this most

37 Ibid.
studied society of the world. For the upper class, i.e. those who have arrived, achievement is no longer relevant; for the apathetic lower class it never even becomes relevant. As far as particularism is concerned, the parvenue is never accepted among the select few for he does not know how to live graciously. The lower class member can derive satisfactions from helping those of his kind. He is not so selfish as 'those up there'.

For Canada even such suggestive knowledge regarding the variation of values is not available. All we assume is the presence of both the American and European model. From the American case, however, we will derive what appears to be a relatively safe assumption, viz. that economic factors are related to the kinds of values which are stressed. In our problem 'economic factors' refer simply to the supply and demands of the services offered by the unions in the labour market. Among services we distinguish between skill and 'time'. For each in turn demand may vary. To command a skill is already an achievement in itself. Furthermore, skill, other factors being equal, receives a better price than mere 'time'.

For him who can sell his skill, an achievement orientation provides standards to justify his better income vis-à-vis that of the 'seller of time'. Furthermore, while he may not be able to live extravagantly, he can live comfortably,

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and expect in his home slowly to add one gadget to another. These gadgets are the symbols of his achievement. Of course, one wants more. For that purpose one pays one's dues and invests in a skilled negotiator. In such a situation bread-and-butter realism makes sense for it brings visible returns.

For the unskilled achievement-orientations are almost meaningless. His primary concern is not with more but with something rather than nothing. He is concerned to stay alive, not to excel. He is above all security conscious, that is to say, employment security is his foremost goal. As far as the union leader is concerned, he is faced with the unalterable fact that the supply of those 'with time' is beyond control. He is therefore forced to concern himself with problems connected with the demand for 'time'. Where it is an inherent characteristic of a system of economic arrangements that this demand is intermittent such system will be viewed as constantly working to the disadvantage of all other sellers of time.

39 On the other hand, for those 'at the very bottom' of the class structure, i.e. people who have the lowest paid jobs, work irregularly, especially in bad times, and live in slums, even security striving has become meaningless. For any degree of permanent security is beyond attainment. The typical response to economic pressure tends to be helping one another rather than saving or hard work. There is never enough to save anything and work is often not available. Once accustomed to this situation, workers tend to regard a steady job as unimportant even when one is available. They have learned that they will be the first to be fired anyway and have given up. Cf. Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Underprivileged Worker", in W. F. Whyte (Ed.), Industry and Society, N. Y., McGraw-Hill, 1946, p. 86.
If this feeling of all of us being in one boat combines with the search for alternative and more just economic arrangements the seeds of a party are present. Whether these seeds germinate may very well depend on the relative strength of individual achievement values. Where these are high independent political action may lack the support of values legitimizing such conduct. Apathy or organized crime may be the only possible responses of those who cannot sell time. Where, on the other hand, particularistic values legitimate 'the solidarity of the working men' a labour party becomes a possibility. Whether such a party gains sufficient momentum to obtain a majority of seats in a parliament or a legislative assembly may depend in turn on the relative strength of universalistic ascriptive values. For these values alone legitimize looking forward and working towards a new and better order. Universalistic-achievement orientations, on the other hand, tend to define such conduct as Utopian nonsense. At the moment precious little is known about the relative predominance of these diverse values in Canadian society. Nevertheless, by simply assuming their existence we can derive certain relationships from these considerations.

In discussing economic factors so far only skill and employment stability, i.e. fluctuation in labour demand, have been considered. A third factor which also appears important is product market elasticity. In an inelastic market a considerable change in price causes little change in the demand
for the commodity. For our purposes this means essentially that increased labour cost can be passed on readily to the consumer without causing a drop in sales and therefore unemployment caused by the bankruptcy or temporary closing of marginal firms. The obverse holds true in an elastic market. In addition, a union's bargaining power seems also related to the relative elasticity of the labour market both from a supply and from a demand point of view. Where intricate skills are required labour supply tends to be inelastic since a ready pool of unemployed skilled workers seems to be an exception rather than the rule. The supply of sellers of time, on the other hand, appears relatively elastic. The latter is particularly noticeable for unskilled female labour in the service industries. Where labour supply is inelastic unions can press for higher wages since the employer is dependent on scarce skills. The situation is similar in the case of an inelastic demand for labour. Demand inelasticity means that an employer will hire a definite number of vitally needed skilled workers more or less regardless of their cost, and he will not hire more even at very low wages. In this case a union can ask for high wages even if a considerable number of its membership is unemployed for a lower wage would not reduce unemployment. One might conclude, therefore, that relative elasticity in both product and labour markets have similar effects on a union's bargaining power.

Since no detailed analysis of the influence of market
elasticity on union policy will be offered in this study it appears unnecessary to work out the many possible combinations of different degrees of supply and demand elasticity in the two markets. Suffice it to say, therefore, that in a situation characterized by stable employment and an inelastic product and labour market, business unionism, i.e. the pursuit of ever increasing hourly earnings, would likely be successful. This seems obvious for two reasons. Employer resistance to higher wage demands tends to be relatively weak for he can pass on the cost. Secondly, most workers with high skill tend to be in the labour force so that relatively few unorganized workers would tend to compete for higher wages and weaken the inelastic labour supply. In a situation characterized by unstable employment and an elastic product and labour market, movement unionism, i.e. some attempts at gaining security through controlling the economy, would seem a likely development.

To sum up, the preceding section dealt with relationships between the nature of unions, social values, and economic factors. It was suggested that business unionism seems most consistent with universalistic achievement values dominant in the United States. Movement unionism, on the other hand, 

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40 Labour cost as % of total cost is, of course, another important factor. The expected pattern, however, would be similar as in the other cases, i.e. other factors being equal, where labour cost as % of total cost is low, business unionism is more likely to occur than where it is high.
hand, appears to be an expression of inter-group relations defined in terms of particularistic ascriptive values and conceptions of a New Order defined in universalistic ascriptive values. Both of the latter appear to be predominant in some parts of Europe. Canadian unions are subject to both the European and the American value influences. Whether they tend to display more business or more movement characteristics may be related to their economic position, i.e. demand for labour, degree of skill offered, and market elasticity. Employment stability, high skill, and market inelasticity seem to be related to business unionism, because their effects tend to 'prove' and sustain American values. Employment instability, low skill, and market elasticity appear to be related to movement unionism, because their effects frustrate the realization of achievement. They 'prove' and sustain European values instead. For easy reference the relationships hypothesized can be presented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Achievement</th>
<th>Ascription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universalism</td>
<td>Business unionism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularism</td>
<td>Movement unionism &amp; Party affiliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour &amp; Product Market</td>
<td>Employment Stability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elastic</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Inelastic</td>
<td>Universalism</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Achievement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Method and Hypothesis**

The factors which are of concern here can be briefly outlined as follows:

1. Employment fluctuation
2. Skill
3. Market elasticity
4. Nature of union: business vs. movement
5. Nature of social values: American model vs. European model

With the exception of the first and the third, all these variables are not unitary but rather complex, composite variables. What appear to be the most relevant components of the business-movement and the European-American value-model continua have been considered above. In the time available
for this study one cannot develop tools to measure adequately these component variables. It will be necessary, therefore, to work with the extremes of these continua. As far as skill is concerned, no objective measure indicating the extremes can be offered in this study. Such an attempt would require another study. One relevant question with regard to union policy, however, seems to be whether the union perceives itself as craft or industrial. This can be decided on the basis of original affiliation with the A.F. of L. (T.L.C.) or C.I.O. (C.C.L.) Actual or attempted union affiliation with a socialist party and interest in changing 'the system', such as, e.g., from a 'profit' to a 'need-economy', will serve as a measure of movement unionism. Conspicuous lack of concern in this area will serve as a measure of business unionism. Market elasticity will only be used to describe a 'mixed case': the B. C. Building Trade Unions. These unions enjoy market inelasticity which justifies business unionism; they suffer, however, from extreme employment fluctuation, which brings them under the spell of movement pressures. The presence or absence of the American or European model or parts of both can be determined by the kinds of values embedded in union policies as laid down in union publications.

In suggesting a relationship between economic factors, values, and union conduct (such as independent political action) no simple economic determinism is implied. It is of course recognized that behaviour is hardly ever a direct
consequence of beliefs and values. On the other hand, beliefs and values are not expressed at random either. According to Sutton they function to make possible and justify the kinds of solutions individuals find in resolving role-conflicts. In an analogous way we suggest economic factors function in the differential emphasis placed on certain sets of values rather than others. The mechanisms at work probably involve a "vicious circle" pattern. Values have an influence on the kind of position groups occupy in the structure of the labour force. This position in turn reinforces the values. But these problems are not our immediate concern. In this investigation the interest lies in the co-variation of economic factors and certain value-orientations.

According to the theoretical considerations outlined in previous sections, demand and skill should vary directly with the movement-business unionism continuum. From this proposition the following hypotheses can be derived:

1. a. Members of A.F.L. (T.L.C.) unions perceive themselves as craft unionists.

   b. Business unionism implies dominance of universalistic achievement values.

   c. If skills can be marketed as expected by their sellers, then A.F.L. (T.L.C.) unions are more likely to be of the business union kind than of the movement union kind.

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2. Where A.F.L. (T.L.C.) unions are threatened by technological displacement or severe temporary unemployment they will tend to become more movement like.

3. a. Members of C.I.O. (C.C.L.) unions perceive themselves as sellers of time.

b. Movement unionism implies dominance of particularistic ascriptive values with their emphasis on the solidarity of the workers and a hope for a better society defined in universalistic ascriptive values.

c. Where time cannot be marketed as expected by its sellers, then C.I.O. (C.C.L.) unions are more likely to be of movement union kind than of the business union kind.
CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC FACTORS AND UNION TYPES

Unemployment and Movement Unionism

An attempt to test the aforementioned hypotheses can be conveniently divided into three tasks. The first concerns the relationship between unemployment and movement unionism. The second deals with the influence of market elasticity. With regard to this problem it will be necessary to confine the discussion to one example, namely the relationship between a highly inelastic labour market, employment insecurity and union type. This problem will be discussed in relation to the B. C. Building Trades Unions. The third problem concerns the relationship between union types and values. The question whether partisan and non-partisan political activities are in fact related to different social values will be the subject of the third chapter of this study.

According to our set of hypotheses movement unionism results where C.C.L. unions experience unemployment and business unionism where T.L.C. unions have little or no unemployment problems. Therefore, the first task is to obtain a measure of employment fluctuations to which C.C.L. and T.L.C. union members are subject. Unfortunately many unions do not keep any records as to the number of their unemployed members. Some unions even fail to record accurately the size of their constantly changing membership. As a substitute measure one
can, however, make use of government employment statistics. The relevant data classified by industry are published by D.B.S.\textsuperscript{41} It was necessary, therefore, to divide industries into two groups on the basis of major union representation. The first group is comprised of industries in which the majority of workers is represented by unions originally affiliated with the C.C.L. In the second group unions originally affiliated with the T.L.C. predominate. Table I shows industries classified by a predominance of C.C.L. or T.L.C. unions.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
& \textbf{C.C.L.} & \textbf{T.L.C.} \\
\hline
Forestry (chiefly logging) & Bread and Bakery Products & \\
Mining & Dairy Products & \\
Distilled and Malt Liquor Products & Pulp and Paper Mills & \\
Rubber Products & Printing & \\
Textile Products & Shipbuilding & \\
Clothing (men) & Construction & \\
Saw and Planing Mills & Public Utilities & \\
Iron and Steel & Air Transport & \\
Aircraft and Parts & Clothing (women) & \\
Motor Vehicles and Parts & Truck Transport & \\
Electrical Apparatus & Service & \\
Non-ferrous Metals & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Industries in which the majority of workers is represented by unions originally affiliated with the C.C.L. or T.L.C.}
\end{table}

Employment Indices (1949 = 100) for these industries can be found in Tables I and II in the appendix. In order to obtain

\textsuperscript{41}D.B.S. Employment and Payrolls, 1960.
a general employment picture for these two industry groups. Yearly weighted averages were computed for the period 1946-1960. The relevant computations and results obtained are recorded in Tables III and IV of the appendix. To facilitate a more immediate grasp of the difference in employment fluctuations experienced by members of C.C.L. and T.L.C. unions, annual weighted average employment indices are graphically presented in Figure 1. An examination of the graph reveals immediately that unemployment has been a far greater problem in C.C.L. unions than in T.L.C. unions. Furthermore, employment fluctuations, i.e. both increases and decreases in employment, are much more severe for members of C.C.L. unions than for those of T.L.C. affiliates. This means that during periods of rapid expansion such as those of 1940-48 and 1950-51 expectations of rising levels of prosperity build up only to be extremely frustrated when employment contracts again. It may be noteworthy in this connection, that in 1950 and 1954 when employment among C.C.L. unions dropped drastically it took more than two years for employment to reach its previous level in both cases. T.L.C. unions never experienced comparable difficulties in the period covered here. Since 1956 employment among workers represented by C.C.L. affiliates has drastically declined, while among T.L.C. unions it has all but levelled off. This difference may well be due to the fact that C.C.L. unions represent most of the workers in industries based on the mass production of
FIGURE 1

AVERAGE ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRIES IN WHICH C.C.L. OR T.L.C. UNIONS PREDOMINATE
(BASED ON DATA FROM DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS, EMPLOYMENT AND PAYROLLS, 1960)

Legend:
--- Industries in which CCL Unions Predominate
--- Industries in which TLC Unions Predominate

AVERAGE ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT (1949 = 100)
durable consumer goods, such as for example electrical appliances and automobiles. These industries were most subject to increased mechanization and automation. Consequently, many semi- and unskilled workers were displaced. From 1946 to 1958 overall employment among T.L.C. affiliates continuously expanded with one single exception. The one drop in employment occurred in 1954 in response to the economic recession of the same year. Even then the average employment index did not drop by more than 1.6. From the evidence presented one may conclude that members of C.C.L. unions experienced considerable unemployment problems which workers of T.L.C. affiliates did not share.

In view of these findings one would expect movement unionism, that is partisan political activity, to occur among C.C.L. unions and non-partisan political action or business unionism among T.L.C. affiliates. Examination of the relevant convention resolutions seems to bear out these expectations.

The C.C.F. was first endorsed as the political arm of the C.C.L. at the Montreal Convention in 1943.\(^{42}\) The Congress as a whole did not affiliate with the C.C.F. But from 1943 up to its merger into the C.L.C. in 1956 it has consistently urged its local unions to affiliate with the C.C.F. At the 1946 Convention in Toronto President Mosher laid down what was to become the political policy of the C.C.L.

\(^{42}\) Canadian Congress of Labour, Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention, Sept. 25-29, 1960, Winnipeg, Manitoba, p. 5.
throughout its existence. The principal idea of this policy was similar to that of the British Labour Movement, viz. that labour was to act through a political party but never wholly become a party itself. President Mosher expressed this point as follows:

...the labour movement is not to be dominated by any party, not even its own. But it must elect to the legislature its own representatives. The C.C.F. is supported by the C.C.L. though the C.C.L. is not affiliated with it. Political democracy rested on equal representation. Labour has never been represented and it can only be represented by a party founded upon the principles of the labour movement, which is the C.C.F.43

This refusal to be dominated is balanced by a refusal to dominate a party. "Labour does not want to dominate (the C.C.F.) but to co-operate."44 Such opposition to both outside and inside domination seems to represent clear evidence of the typical dilemma of any party which derives its inception from the representation of particular interests yet at the same time strives towards universal acceptance. The union cannot permit itself to be completely dominated by a party; for its first responsibility is the welfare of a particular group, viz. the workers. Party domination, it is feared, might interfere with the tasks entailed in this


44 Canadian Congress of Labour, Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention, Oct. 11-15, 1948, Toronto, Ontario; Address of the President.
responsibility. The alternative, labour's domination of the party, on the other hand, must be ruled out also. For the party is to be representative of all groups in society and not an instrument of particular interests. It must encompass "labour, farmers, professionals, and other liberal minded persons or groups". This statement embodied in the famous Winnipeg Resolution is in its spirit almost synonymous with one textbook definition of the party that reads: "A party is a body of men, united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed." 

While the C.C.L. clearly wanted to work with a party, unanimity as to which party was to be supported was lacking in the beginning. Even as late as 1946 there were several delegates favouring support of the L.P.P. (Labour Progressive Party). Since the public increasingly identified Communism with totalitarianism the advocated support of the L.P.P. quickly waned and was replaced by a motion denouncing the Communist movement as undemocratic and violating human rights.


However, this did not give rise to unanimous support of the C.C.F. either. There has always been a feeling among some labour leaders that the C.C.F. politicians were too far removed from the realistic grass root problems of the labour movement. This feeling was first voiced on a C.C.L. convention floor by an I.W.A. delegate from B. C. who called for a new political party "embracing the whole trade union movement and farmers as well". He further advocated admission of union leaders selected by referendum or convention vote to C.C.F. candidacy in elections. While this delegate belonged to a union which was Communist dominated at the time, the nature of his appeal clearly indicated that he wished to support and strengthen the C.C.F. Since this party was to be the representative of the 'small man', he argued, it ought to have room for all small people in Canada. Therefore, the call for a new party in Canada came as early as 1947. Since then the vast majority of the small but growing number of C.C.L. delegates who opposed support of the C.C.F. consistently called for the formation of a new party instead. Whatever the specific party chosen, for our purposes the important finding is that C.C.L. union leaders have consistently pursued partisan political action.

In sharp contrast to the C.C.L. partisan politics stands the T.L.C. policy of non-partisan political action, to which the Congress adhered throughout its entire existence. The

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49 Ibid., p. 85.
history of this policy can perhaps be summed up in two quotations. The relevant convention resolution in 1942 reads as follows:

...be it resolved that labour political autonomy be left in the hands of the established labour political parties...and... that this Congress continue to act as the legislative mouthpiece of organized labour in Canada independent of any political organization engaged in the effort to send representatives of the people to Parliament, the Provincial Legislatures or other collective bodies of this country.50

The committee pointed out to the delegates that this policy had been reconfirmed and adopted by each of the following conventions of the Congress: Vancouver, 1923; London, 1924; St. John, 1929; Regina, 1930; Vancouver, 1931; Hamilton, 1932; Halifax, 1935; Montreal, 1936; Ottawa, 1937; Niagara Falls, 1938; and London, 1939.51 This policy was reconfirmed in all subsequent conventions. At the last convention in 1955 the delegates recognized their political ineffectiveness again and expressed their thoughts in a similar resolution:

Whereas the Federal Government has ignored the pleas of organized labour for full employment And whereas pressure should be organized to induce the government to enact fair labour laws Therefore be it resolved--that the Trades and Labour Congress continue to encourage and organize non-partisan political action and education (consistent with the principle of


51 Ibid.
electing our friends and defeating our enemies) to further the cause of labour.\textsuperscript{52}

It becomes therefore evident that non-partisan political action has been a tradition among T.L.C. affiliates.

Another fact, however, also stands out rather glaringly. Our proposition that partisan politics seems associated with unemployment and non-partisan politics with relatively full employment does not seem to hold before 1946. While the present study does not concern itself with 'history', there always remains the uncomfortable puzzle as to when something becomes history. At any rate, the fact that the T.L.C. remained faithful to its policy of non-partisan politics during the depression seems to contradict our hypothesis sufficiently so that it cannot be left without comment. A similar 'disturbing fact' represents itself of course in the C.C.L. support of the C.C.F. and its socialist programme during the war, a period of full employment.

With regard to the T.L.C. non-partisan politics during the depression, it seems important to recall that poverty and misery had seized almost the whole nation, not only particular segments of the population. Secondly, the traditional crafts were still intact and formed the dominant force in the T.L.C. In keeping with their artisan tradition these craftsmen perceived themselves more as 'solid burghers' than

'workers'. They tended therefore to identify with others of the middle class equally hit by poverty and leave organized protest and demonstrations to the workers. Since from the viewpoint of the middle class more or less all suffered there were hardly any who visibly gained from the depression and hence could be blamed for engineering the economy for their own profit in complete disregard of the welfare of the working man. If one accepts Marx' hypothesis that the formation of conflict groups rests on the separation of modes of life, interests, and culture of one group from those of another it becomes clear that the prevailing conditions were not conducive for the development of an alternative political force among craftsmen.

As regards the staunch C.C.L. support of a socialist programme during a period of full employment in the early 1940's one can only suggest that industrial unionists advocated a change of the system because they expected that the end of the war would bring the elimination of the war-planned economy and with it economic slump. Similar considerations were expressed by President Mosher right after the war. In his opinion the system of a planned economy during the war resulted in a higher standard of living than was ever achieved in peace time. Therefore, he argued, the primary objective of a new system of economic planning must be that on which

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there was universal approval during the wartime emergency, viz. to serve the public interest and not the making of profit by those who have invested capital in industrial enterprises.\textsuperscript{54}

While a non-partisan political policy had been the tradition in the T.L.C., unanimous agreement on this point was usually lacking. This lack of agreement possibly offers an opportunity to examine the variable skill in its effects in political orientation. In the previous chapter it was argued that universalistic achievement values and competition make 'more sense' for the seller of skills than the seller of time. It was further pointed out that such values tend to lead to political activity carried on by means of a pressure group or lobby rather than a party. One would therefore expect that representatives of the traditional crafts formed the majority among those upholding the non-partisan policy of the T.L.C. Among those dissenting from that policy, i.e. the advocates of partisan political activity, on the other hand, one would expect a predominance of representatives of those workers with less clearly defined or little skill. This attempt to isolate the factor of skill rests on the assumption that the effects of local temporary unemployment, to which delegates might respond by challenging the traditional non-partisan policy, would not assume significance due to the fact that

opinions expressed on the convention floor ought to be a fairly representative sample of all the various groups across the nation. It is further assumed that delegates would speak as representatives of their organizations and not as private persons.

In this attempt to distinguish between highly articulate and less developed skills an established apprenticeship system is used as the differentiating criteria. This allows us only to differentiate between the presence or absence of skills recognized by the wider community. But apprenticeship as a differentia specifica tells us nothing about differences in skills actually exercised on different jobs. It is evidently clear that a journeyman carpenter who spends his time assembling prefabricated steel frames for concrete pouring on a construction job does not necessarily exercise more skill than a worker in a pulp mill who may run semi-automatic machinery. Such lack of methodological sophistication as is embodied in the above mentioned assumption must be kept in mind in considering the results obtained.

The convention proceedings of the T.L.C. from 1942 to 1955 inclusive were examined with particular reference to those sections dealing with the political action
resolutions. Delegates participating in the discussion on these resolutions were divided into two groups. The first, or Partisans, challenged the non-partisan policy of the congress and tried to convince their fellow delegates to support a particular party, either the L.P.P., the C.C.F., or a new genuine labour party which was to be formed. The second group, or Non-Partisans, is comprised of those who rose to support the resolution calling for non-partisan politics. Any delegate whose opinion could not be clearly classified as either Partisan or Non-Partisan was deleted from the final enumeration. Delegates were then identified as to the union they represented. International and labour council representatives were not included in the list. They might obviously express foreign opinions or, in the second case, opinions of an intermediate body composed of many different unions. A table of unions favouring a Partisan or a Non-Partisan

approach determined on the basis of the opinions expressed by their delegates at T.L.C. conventions can be found in the appendix (Table V).

The results obtained contradict our hypothesis. The skill mix among the Partisans is almost equal to that among the Non-Partisans. Furthermore, the lack of agreement on the congress' non-partisan political approach seems rather high. Of all the delegates here considered, i.e. representatives of unions and locals who commented on political action resolutions, the number favouring partisan politics is broadly equal to that defending the non-partisan stand. There are, however, a few peculiarities in this table which deserve brief comment.

In view of the length of the period covered it may seem odd at first glance that so few considered the political action resolutions worth enough to merit discussion. At the conventions of 1947, '50, '51, '52 and '54, for example, no discussion whatsoever is recorded in the proceedings. This silence on matters political in itself seems significant. It appears to reflect an attitude of conservative content with affairs as they are. The validity of non-partisan politics was more attacked during the early years of the war than during its closing years and after. This perhaps represents an uneasiness about the expected effects of changing from a planned to a more liberal economy similar to that felt by C.C.L. affiliates. Yet in 1946 when the C.C.L. demanded the extension of a planned economy into peacetime, and a change
of government to establish a 'new system', the T.L.C. went on record to support the wartime government in order to give them a chance to fulfil their promises. The apparent lack of any genuine and deep concern with politics is also indicated by the fact that the 1954 convention passed two opposed political action resolutions without any discussion. Since this seems a rather unique event it may be useful to present the relevant part of these resolutions. The first resolution brought to the floor by the Fort William Trades and Labour Council reads:

Since the Trades and Labour Congress, Trades and Labour Councils, and unions have been mostly unsuccessful in getting action on legislation necessary for the welfare of the working man and the country as a whole the policy of this Congress regarding political action must be changed.

Therefore be it resolved, -- that this Congress should now consider the feasibility of entering directly into Federal Politics by the formation of a Labour Party, or by an alliance with a party which will provide the ideals and aspirations of this congress.

The second resolution sponsored by the Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers, Cosmetologists and Proprietors International Union of America, on the other hand, reiterates the traditional non-partisan stand and reads in part:


Whereas the principle governing the approach to political action of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada is that of electing our friends and defeating our enemies;

Therefore be it resolved, -- That the delegates of this convention instruct the Executive to compile...a brief setting down the voting habits of Members of Parliament and present to the delegates...a list of those who have consistently voted favourably towards...matters endorsed by this Congress; and further urge the re-election of our friends whenever an election is enhanced.\textsuperscript{58}

The Resolution Committee presented both resolutions together with a series of others dealing with different topics and urged concurrence in all of them. The convention passed these without a single comment being recorded.

Table V of the appendix also shows that lack of agreement regarding political action occurs also within a given union. While some unions appear to switch their allegiance from one policy to another between conventions the International Association of Machinists stands out by disagreeing openly on the convention floor. In 1955 reiteration of the traditional non-partisan political action resolution was proposed by the Aeronautical Lodge, the carpenters and the International Association of Machinists. Yet there were not less than five representatives of various eastern locals of the machinists who advocated a change to partisan politics. This may well be due to the fact that many members of this union are employed in servicing machinery in the finished

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid.
goods and mass production industry where employment had considerably fallen in the previous year and most of the other workers were organized by C.C.L. affiliates. If for this reason one excludes the five Partisan machinists there remain but seven traditional crafts organizations who at various times supported a partisan political policy. This, however, does not drastically alter the negative results since non-craft organizations are evenly split on the issue. The negative results obtained may well be due to the fact that national conventions of the T.L.C. are not, as was assumed, free of regional overrepresentation. The long distances and resulting high costs simply prevent the smaller organizations from sending a delegate all the way across Canada to represent them at the convention.

While this small survey of delegates' expressed political preferences did not succeed in isolating the effects of skill, it did show that at various times a considerable number of union leaders questioned the validity of the T.L.C.'s non-partisan political programme. For comparative purposes a similar survey was conducted on C.C.L. delegates' political preferences. The examination of convention records had to be restricted to those covering
the conventions from 1946 to 1955\textsuperscript{59} since no records of earlier conventions are available in Vancouver. To gain a comparable picture the opinions expressed by Labour Council and International representatives, as well as Congress officers were omitted as was done in the case of the T.L.C. delegates. The opinions expressed on the Canadian Labour Congress' political action programme were classified as \textbf{Partisan} or \textbf{Non-Partisan}, employing the same criteria as outlined before. Table VI of the appendix shows unions favouring a partisan or a non-partisan political approach as determined on the basis of opinions expressed by their delegates at C.C.L. conventions.

A comparison of Tables V and VI shows that C.C.L. delegates were more agreed on their congress political policy than was the case among T.L.C. delegates. For the period covered a total of 32 C.C.L. delegates supported the partisan political action resolution and 12 opposed it. For the same period 14 T.L.C. delegates spoke in support of their congress' policy.

non-partisan policy while 16 opposed it. Apart from this higher degree of agreement on their congress' political programme, however, the behaviour of C.C.L. delegates in discussing political action does not seem to differ to any important extent from that of their T.L.C. colleagues. Occasionally a C.C.L. union shifted its support of a non-partisan approach to a partisan policy; and sometimes representatives of one organization would battle each other on the convention floor though not as often as occurred among T.L.C. representatives. Generally, C.C.L. delegates devoted much more time and effort evaluating their political programme. This is not surprising inasmuch as the pledged support of the C.C.F. never became very effective. Despite the fact that the congress has consistently urged affiliates to support the C.C.F. no important electoral victories were realized by this party. As a consequence the forces calling for formation of a new party in which the labour movement could participate more directly gained momentum. Ultimately, this view was to gain acceptance by most unions in Canada.

In 1956 when the two congresses merged to form the Canadian Labour Congress, however, most T.L.C. affiliates still insisted on their traditional refusal to align themselves with one party. As a consequence, the political action resolution of the Founding Convention was a compromise permitting affiliates to conduct their political activities in the
manner they saw fit. By 1958, however, the advocates of a partisan political approach attained a victory in the joint congress as evidenced in the now famous Winnipeg resolution:

There is the need for a broadly based peoples' political movement which embraces the C.C.F., the Labour movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded persons, interested in basic social reform and reconstruction through our Parliamentary system of government....

This convention, therefore, instructs the Executive Council to give urgent and immediate attention to this matter by initiating discussions with the C.C.F., interested farm organizations and other likeminded individuals and groups, to formulate a constitution and a programme for such a political instrument of the Canadian people; ...61

Pending this development, the convention reaffirmed the compromise resolution passed in 1956. In 1960, the Canadian Labour movement cast aside the last remainders of Gompers' political neutralism. The C.L.C. convention urged all its affiliated unions to affiliate with the New Party "when such party is founded".62

The partisan forces of Canadian labour scored their victory at a time when employment had drastically fallen among

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the original C.C.L. affiliates. From 1956 to 1958 the employment index for C.C.L. unionists dropped by more than 11 points. It also appears significant that 1958 was the year in which T.L.C. unionists experienced their first important loss in employment. The index for industries in which T.L.C. unions predominate fell by approximately 3 points from 1957 to 1958. Unemployment during this time was particularly severe among the building trades. In the same period the Canadian Economy remained virtually stagnant as measured by the size of the Net National Income. Yet more jobs were lost in these industries than was the case in the recession year of 1954 when the National Income actually declined. Furthermore, total real labour income increased by 35% from 1954 to 1960. Real labour income per capita of the labour force, however, increased by only 16% during the same period. This clearly indicates the effects of rising unemployment. By 1960 seven per cent of the civilian labour force was unemployed.\footnote{Bank of Canada, \textit{Statistical Summary Supplement}, 1960 —cf. Tables VII, VIII and IX of the appendix.} It appears, therefore, that the Canadian labour movement was responding to adverse economic conditions when it endorsed the New Party as its political aim in 1960.

Undoubtedly there may have been other contributing factors. Most prominent among these is probably labour legislation which unions considered as 'unfriendly'. Newfoundland's labour act and the B. C. Trade Union Act of 1959 may
be mentioned as examples. Yet labour and also the T.L.C. have voiced discontent before particularly about some restrictive regulations passed by the Federal Government during the war. At no time, however, had the T.L.C. considered co-operating with one particular party to make their legislative demands heard more effectively.

The relationship between economic conditions and the type of labour's political activity appears to be evident to some extent even in American society where the major values tend to define the advocacy of a 'new system' as utopian. Labour in the United States has only leaned towards partisan political action during periods of industrial depression when purely economic action had largely failed. When, however, prosperity returned economic action became effective again. At the same time labour's interest in independent political action waned. For "when economic action promises the attainment of immediate gains, the politically minded with his vision of future benefits could no longer wield any influence". While many of the American labour leaders, however, seem to require the experience of severe economic depression before they are likely to consider partisan

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politics, relatively mild recessions appear to be sufficient for most Canadian unions to embark upon such a policy. For it seems obvious that the recessionary period of 1953-54 and the stagnation of the Canadian economy after 1957 are not comparable at all in their effects on the labour force to the devastating impact of the Great Depression. Canadians, it seems, are more inclined to cast aside the 'American Dream' whenever the realities of the day do not fully support those values for which it is a symbol, viz. individual achievement and universalism. Instead, they combine to work toward a change of the economy by fighting collectively those forces that uphold the system. This in itself appears to betray the presence of alternative values, viz. particularistic-ascriptive orientations which form the basis of the forces unifying the diverse unions of the Canadian Labour Congress and a philosophy composed of universalistic-ascriptive values that gives the movement its direction. The social and economic arrangements union leaders have in mind when they speak about the new system and the values they use in defining its desirability and justifying its necessity will be the subject of Chapter III. Before this topic is taken up, however, an attempt will be made to examine the effect of another economic factor, viz. market elasticity.

\[66\] Ibid.
The Influence of Market Elasticity on Union Political Activity:

The B. C. Building Trades: A Special Case

Building Trades unions in general are perhaps the best example of business unions. Under certain conditions they display almost all of the characteristics implied in this ideal type.\(^6\) Firstly, the building trades represent the traditional crafts; that is to say, they are sellers of intricate skills. Secondly, they operate in a highly competitive market, although this holds true only for work on smaller construction projects, i.e. residential housing. In this field they also face short run price elasticity for the services they offer. This is to say a small change in the price of labour will effect a relatively large change in the demand for it. In the construction of the average home labour cost does represent a significant proportion of total cost, as evidenced by the 'do-it-yourself fad' that covers not only maintenance and repair work but also alterations and indeed even new construction, particularly in the case of very small houses. The common occurrence of the 'do-it-yourselfer' testifies to the fact that unions have indeed 'priced themselves out of this market' to a very considerable extent.

While the economic significance of small home construction may be declining today some of the important values that guide present day union policy were partially developed and constantly reinforced by the special union-management relationships so characteristic in this branch of the construction industry. One may do well, therefore, not to disregard what at first glance possibly seems 'mere history'.

For the small contractor each separate job constitutes a certain gamble, because the nature of these jobs is extremely risky. Unexpected difficulties can always arise. Since small contractors work under extremely competitive conditions, they often operate with a relatively small profit margin. If any sizable difficulties arise under such conditions, they usually spell bankruptcy. The contractor, therefore, who sees bankruptcy lurking behind every corner, is under extreme pressures to 'chisel', i.e. to do cheap work or use substandard materials where they do not show. On the other hand, where the quality of work is observable, he has to deliver in accordance with contracted specifications. This means that the small contractor is dependent on competent craftsmanship and also on the good will and 'understanding' of the workers to do 'dirty' work when the situation calls for it. Where construction workers are intensely proud of their craft they are of course reluctant to engage in 'chiseling'.

68Strauss, op. cit., p. 65.
hand, the solvency of the business and with it their jobs may well hinge on their willingness to 'co-operate'. These considerations all point to one conclusion, viz. that the contractor's success depends to an important degree on a spirit of employer-employee co-operation hardly necessary for mutual survival in other industries.

This brings us to the question, are there other factors supporting this pattern? In answering this problem two things may be mentioned. These are the size of the firm and the duration of the job. The small contractor does not require a large investment to enter business or to maintain himself in it. Frequently he can rent equipment after he has obtained a contract or he can subcontract those phases of the job that require the use of heavy equipment. As a consequence, many contractors are in business only intermittently. They may switch back and forth between employer and employee status, and many employers are union members. Secondly, most jobs are of short duration, and many employees have a history of long association with one employer. Therefore, frequently whole crews will move from one job to another, taking their foreman with them. 69

Such conditions are hardly conducive to the development of worker solidarity. They are more likely to lead to a development of craft solidarity which can and does include the

69 Strauss, op. cit., p. 64.
the employer except under conditions where both groups pursue opposed interests, as for example in collective bargaining. Their common interests on the other hand are many, and can take varied forms which in turn are related to the composition of the interest group. Union rank and file members, officers and employers often combine their influence in lobbying for building codes and related by-laws enacted by municipal governments. One of the most noted results of such combinations was the failure of the aluminum house project of the Fairchild Aircraft Company. The company, in changing over to a peacetime economy had plans for the mass production of prefabricated aluminum houses that needed only simple on-site assembly. Obviously, many building tradesmen and contractors would have been displaced. But the development failed due to building code restrictions which the company encountered in most major cities across the country. The post war housing shortage notwithstanding, the company's influence was insufficient to overcome the combined lobby strength of construction unions and contractors. This may be an example of labour-management joint competition against an outside industry.

Union-employer co-operation to enhance their common competitive position is not only directed against 'outsiders'. Unions have often successfully prevented the use of non-union labour on construction projects by setting up a picket around the operation. They did this frequently at the suggestion of
employers who thereby eliminated one rival.

Competition also occurs between construction unions. When technological change devalues traditional skills, the union must try to extend its jurisdiction or face extinction. One of the most widely known examples is the carpenters who now claim jurisdiction over everything 'once made of wood'. But some of the most intense forms of inter-union competition occurs during wage negotiations. Building trades unions do compete against each other for wages, i.e. they do not hesitate to use skilful timing of their demands to advance their own interests even at the cost of exploiting the weakness of other fellow unionists. Inter-union wage competition may well be the most important single factor characterizing the building trades as business unions.

With regard to the techniques used in inter-union wage competition Strauss found basically two, viz. a hesitancy to settle wage contracts too early, and 'bluff'. His business agents generally attempted to prolong negotiations until it became known what other unions had been able to get. They based this policy of waiting on the experience that he who settles first gains the least. The last to complete wage negotiations, on the other hand, was usually able to gain the most relative to those preceding him. Business agents frequently tried to 'bluff' their colleagues into an earlier

70 Strauss, op. cit., p. 76 ff.
settlement by exaggerating their own difficulties in negotiations. While they thus sometimes prejudiced their own position by the fact that a relatively low increase might 'set a pattern' they did gain the advantage of 'coming after'. The often spectacular successes achieved by this method are due to the tremendously increased bargaining power of the union that is the last to settle the wage contract. For this union can stop all production work if its picket lines are honoured by the others. At this stage the employer having settled the thorny issue of compensations for most trades is likely to yield even to disproportionate wage demands; since paying high wages to a small number of employees tends to be less costly than holding off construction. The last union, then, in effect enjoys the advantage of short run inelasticity in the labour market. 71 By exploiting such advantageous power positions some construction unions in B.C. have been able to upset the whole inter-occupational wage structure which craftsmen are normally prone to guard jealously. Jamieson related this 'leapfrogging' of wage rates to "the chaotic conditions" and industrial strife prevalent in the British Columbia construction industry during the 1950's. 72

71 Cf. S. Jamieson, op. cit., p. 39, who describes a similar situation in B. C. where less skilled workers gain relatively high wage increases by 'riding on the backs' of the more skilled groups.

72 Ibid., p. 36.
As an economy becomes increasingly industrialized, however, the relative significance of small home construction tends to decline. As a consequence, construction unions formulate their wage policy with a view to large projects where they know that their bargaining power is higher. There are two obvious reasons for the increased bargaining power of building trades unions on 'big jobs'. Firstly, labour cost is a very small fraction of total cost. Secondly, the cost of higher wages can be passed on readily to the consumer. Consumers in this case are frequently the public through its agent the government, or larger corporations. The construction of highways, power dams or pulp mills entails the planning of large scale capital expenditures. The major considerations in such planning involve the long run profitability of the venture. Once long run profitability seems reasonably assured the necessary appropriations are made largely in disregard of prevailing wage rates. Therefore unions enjoy a heightened bargaining power by virtue of short run inelasticity of labour demand. Since building trades represent relatively scarce skills they are able to realize the additional advantage of short run inelasticity of labour supply particularly if several large scale projects are started at the same time. Under such conditions employers will not hesitate to bid up wages in order to secure vitally needed skills. It appears obvious that this is a climate most conducive to the growth of business unions.
The spectacular expansion of the B. C. construction industry during the late 1940's and early 1950's did create such a situation of short run inelasticity of labour demand and for the most highly skilled groups also inelasticity of supply. The new construction boom carried out by large general construction firms consisted chiefly of new resource development projects and was felt directly or indirectly over the whole province. As a consequence the main building trades unions also expanded greatly and became organized on a province-wide scale. Due to their very favourable economic position their 'cry for more' was very successful, indeed. They replaced the powerful District I of the International Woodworkers of America as 'wage leader' and 'pattern setter' for organized labour in British Columbia.

However, the expansion of the construction industry in B. C. has not occurred gradually but experienced a marked uneven rate of growth over the last twenty years. According to Jamieson the accentuated cycles of the B. C. economy are a result of two factors. The provincial economy as a whole rests primarily on basic resource development and it is also dependent on foreign markets. As a result British Columbia experienced pronounced fluctuations in investment. As can be

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73 Ibid., p. 16 ff.

74 Ibid., p. 38 ff.
seen from Table X in the appendix, since 1953 the percentage change in capital expenditure in B. C. has been double that of Canada as a whole. As a result employment in the British Columbia construction industry has been very erratic. Table XI in the appendix shows average yearly employment. For an easy grasp of the rather extreme employment fluctuations average yearly employment is graphically shown in Figure 2. While it may be difficult to separate seasonal from cyclical factors contributing to these fluctuations, the important fact for our purposes is the drastic decline in average yearly employment since 1957. However, even during the peak season of 'boom' years—as for instance August, 1957—there was a sizable portion of unemployed, though it tended to occur among the less skilled groups. 75

One might conclude, therefore, that as far as economic factors are concerned, the B. C. building trades unions represent a mixed case. These T.L.C. affiliates are definitely sellers of skills and enjoy the advantages of short run inelasticity of labour demand. In addition, they could and did make effective use of inelasticity of labour supply. This resulted either 'naturally' through an actual shortage among the most highly skilled crafts, or 'artificially' through the high degree of organization among the less skilled groups. They enjoyed all these advantages, that is, when

75Ibid., p. 12.
AVERAGE ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY OF B.C. 1949-1959
(BASED ON DATA FROM S. JAMIESON, op.cit.)
there was work. Throughout the last ten years, and more particularly during the last five years, however, construction unions in B. C. were faced with an ever mounting problem of unemployment. For these reasons the case of the B. C. building trades unions offers an opportunity to test—at least in part—the second hypothesis proposed in the previous chapter. Since only a partial testing seems possible in this study, the hypothesis may merit restatement at this point:

Where A.F.L. (T.L.C.) unions are threatened by technological displacement or severe temporary unemployment they will tend to become more movement-like.

Contrary to much popular opinion technological change has occurred in the building trades both in the techniques as well as in materials used. In some cases, as for example the carpenters and the bricklayers, the impact of technology is immediately observable. Bricks are used less in buildings today and carpenters spend much of their time 'slapping together' concrete forms, as previously noted. The determination of the overall effect of technological change, however, would require a detailed survey which is beyond the scope of this investigation. But available statistics covering all building trades do indicate that temporary unemployment and more recently a steady decline in employment has been a feature of this industry. One would therefore expect a change from the traditional search for more money to a search

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76 Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
for more security. As Jamieson puts it:

It is a safe hypothesis that the problem of seasonal and cyclical unemployment in the construction industry in B. C., ...has accentuated feelings of insecurity among established workers in an already insecure industry....

The search for more security, in this case, can hardly lie in better organized economic action. The high rate of seasonal unemployment would seem to frustrate the effectiveness of more economic action even if yet higher wages could be achieved. It would seem that the only effective economic action could come from above, and therefore needs to be preceded by political action. Theoretically, one way to even out the 'boom and bust' nature of the B. C. construction industry would be to control the rate of flow of capital investment in the province. This is precisely what the C.C.F. has promised to do. With the effectiveness of further economic action on the part of unions blocked, partisan political action would seem a logical alternative. Since political effectiveness largely rests on strength in numbers, and since the 'booms' of the mid-fifties have swelled union membership, one might expect union leaders to use the principle expounded by C. W. Mills:

...if the democratic power of numbers is to be used against the concentrated power of money, it must in some way create its own political force.

In 1957 the British Columbia Federation of Labour

77 Jamieson, op. cit., p. 13.

established a programme of co-operation between labour and the C.C.F. By 1959 the Federation urged its affiliates to support the Canadian Labour Congress' programme of establishing a new party and pending this development to give financial support to the C.C.F.79 An identical policy was endorsed by the Federation in 1960.80 Out of 400 delegates 36 voted against partisan political action in 1959. One year later that number had decreased to eleven.81 In 1959, a considerable number of delegates from the building trades opposed the Federation's partisan politics openly on the convention floor. Among these were representatives of the Electrical Workers, Carpenters, Operating Engineers, Painters, Plumbers, and Boilermakers.82 One year later there remained but one construction union, the Electrical Workers, who were still in open opposition to the Federation's support of the C.C.F.83 In 1960 the Vancouver Building and Trades Council, spokesman of the major construction unions in the province, urged


81 E. P. O'Neil, Secretary-Treasurer, B. C. Federation of Labour, personal interview.

82 B. C. Federation of Labour, Proceedings of the Fourth Convention, op. cit., p. 69 ff.

83 B. C. Federation of Labour, Proceedings of the Fifth Convention, op. cit., p. 69.
its affiliates to support C.C.F. candidates in the election. The same year saw also the formation of the B. C. Federation of the Unemployed, the purpose of which is "to provide an effective voice and functioning body for those who directly bear the burden of this increasing economic and social burden (unemployment), and to establish the greatest possible cooperation between all unemployed citizens and the Trade Union Movement". However, the relationship between unemployment and partisan political action of the B. C. construction unions is not as clear as it might appear at first glance.

The shift towards movement unionism was at least, if not more, influenced by the B. C. Trade Union Act of 1959 enacted by the Social Credit government of the province. This Act established unions as legal entities for the purpose of damage suits and restricted picketing to legal strikes. In the past, building trades unions frequently relied on picketing for organizational purposes as well as to force the employer to comply with the dues check off regulation of the Labour Relations Act. Many and particularly smaller construction jobs are of such short duration that unions could not afford to wait for the results of the relatively lengthy


85 B. C. Federation of Labour, Proceedings of the Fifth Convention, op. cit., Attachment No. 11.
certification procedure. On these small projects, picketing was their only means of effecting employer recognition. For this reason United States legislation specifically exempts building trades unions from the prohibition of organizational picketing. It appears therefore understandable when the building trades in B. C. reacted with particular hostility against an act which they perceive as a design to crush their organizations.

One can only conclude, therefore, that both adverse labour legislation and unemployment were contributing factors to the development of a partisan political policy among the B. C. construction unions. Which of the two was the more important influence must remain a moot point.
CHAPTER III

THE NATURE OF VALUES EXPRESSED BY MOVEMENT AND BUSINESS UNIONISTS

In the previous chapter the attempt was made to relate the union's economic strength to the form of its political action programme. We pointed out that apart from 'adverse labour legislation' unemployment may well be the single most important factor accounting for the adoption of a partisan political approach by most Canadian unions. Business unionism, then, appears to have drastically declined in Canada. The one remaining question of this study concerns the relationship between social values and union types.

According to the theoretical considerations outlined in the first chapter, movement unionism implies dominance of particularistic ascriptive values as regards the workers' orientations towards each other as well as to other social groups. With respect to the definition of a 'new system', on the other hand, movement unionism implies the dominance of universalistic ascriptive values. In contrast, business unionism implies dominance of universalistic achievement values. This brings us to the question, do movement and business unionists really differ in the kinds of values to which they subscribe, and if so, are these differences in values consistent with our theoretical predictions?

Social values can be found in what people say; they
can also be inferred from what people do. Methodologically the second procedure appears rather hazardous. We will therefore mainly confine our search for values to public statements made by union leaders. Movement unionists who advocate political and economic change are by their very nature a more vocal group than their 'business' colleagues. In a limited sense it may therefore be necessary to supplement the comparatively scarce material available for business unionists by inferences from their behaviour. In order to reduce the possibility of biased interpretation inherent in this approach, we will restrict ourselves to citing some findings of other investigators. Finally, a truly objective survey of the values expressed by union leaders cannot be undertaken in this investigation. Such a task would involve the development and application of a scale measuring the aforementioned value dimensions. This would exceed by far the limitations of time imposed upon the present study. Therefore we cannot hope to give more than a descriptive picture of the kinds of values most frequently expressed by movement and business unionists.

Turning to values inherent in movement unionism the first task concerns the description of what we characterized as universalistic ascriptive values. These values can be found wherever movement unionists demand a new system designed to provide a greater degree of social justice for all. The new order may be described in very general terms
as for example in the following excerpt from an address by President Mosher:

Let us first of all try to gain some clear conception of the kind of world we would like to live in—a state of society in which there shall be peace and economic security and ample opportunity for human service and human happiness. Let us admit frankly that we propose to abolish every evil which stands in the way of that objective, through the use of our economic and political strength as organized workers and in co-operation with all who are willing to work with us. 86

Sometimes more specific characteristics of the new system are given. Typically, these tend to be formulated in terms of inalienable rights ascribed to man regardless of what he has done or neglected to do. That is to say, these rights are his as a human being. Reference to such rights is most frequently made when movement unionists urge support of the New Democratic Party. This, it is claimed, is the only party pledged to establish a system in which everyone has as social rights: a job, adequate health care, and old age security. Less frequently, though also mentioned, is the right of every youth to an education limited only by his ability to learn. 87

The European influence on such ascriptive themes is clearly indicated in the labour press itself. One recent


87 The B. C. Lumberworker, Official Organ of the I.W.A., Regional Council No. 1, 1st Issue, April, 1961, Editorial.
editorial of the B. C. Lumberworker, for example, was entirely devoted to high praise of Pope John's encyclical MATER ET MAGISTRA. "Labour everywhere will hail the encyclical's pleas for social justice," the editor wrote. The article emphasized particularly the following statements by the pontiff: "that socialization growing in extent and depth is not only necessary but desirable, and that it is a false assumption entertained in certain quarters, that socialization necessarily reduces men to automatons;" and further "that private enterprise must contribute to effect a more equitable economic and social balance among the different zones of the same country". The editor felt impelled to amend the demand for higher equalization within countries to include the whole world. As he expressed it: "We are all responsible too for the undernourished of the world." For the movement unionist such responsibility is not confined to present day conditions, it extends to the future as well:

But we ought to be thinking not only of ourselves, but of our families and the great number of exploited people throughout the country. We ought to be thinking of generations yet to come, who will find it hard to forgive us for our stupidity in continuing to support economic and political systems which resulted in wealth for a few people and comparative poverty for

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89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.
the great mass of the population. 91

The universalistic elements of such a philosophy make for a certain dualism of attitudes. So far, only one aspect has been mentioned, viz. the refusal to relativize social rights on the basis of group membership. Beyond that, however, the emphasis of universalism makes itself felt in a preoccupation with means and organization.

Labour leaders, or the Socialist politicians of their choice, wherever they speak stress the need for planning and elimination of human and economic waste. They tend to go to great lengths trying to explain just how the better system is to be achieved. "What then is a planned economy? When the New Democratic Party becomes the government of this country we will set up first of all a planning agency charged with the task to solve these questions: First, what do we need? Second, what resources do we have for our needs? What are our manpower resources, what training facilities exist today, and what facilities do we have to develop to supply the demand of future skills and knowledge? What are our capital resources, private as well as public? We will also create a development fund from which capital can be directed to where it is needed and so that it ensures full employment. Priority will be given to the development of social capital, the construction of houses, schools, hospitals, roads, and

parks, etc." Efficient planning and organization, however, are never seen as ends in themselves. They are but of instrumental significance and always related to the expected results. These results are formulated in terms of the realization of some of the social rights. Douglas backed his argument for a planned economy by warning that by 1970 automation will have wiped out one job in every seven in Canada. With economic planning, on the other hand, labour need not fear automation. All men laid off will be taken care of, he promised, and will be retrained at government cost. Under such conditions labour will be able to welcome automation for it will share in the benefits of technological advancement.93

"Without planning, however, automation will maintain and contribute to the already existing disparities between the wealthy few and the many suffering from economic dislocation."94 It would thus violate the very principle of social organization, for movement unionists recognize but one legitimate objective of the social order; viz. the promotion of human welfare.95 In these and similar terms the ideal state tends

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93 The Vancouver Sun, March 24, 1962.

94 Douglas, loc. cit.

to be defined as one enjoyed by all as well as something that has to be achieved collectively. This emphasis on collectivism leads sometimes to a transition from an ideal state to be achieved to the ascription of ideal qualities to those who are 'for it'. "The labour movement is best suited to promote progress in that direction [the ideal state] for labour is not organized for the sake of profit, but for service, and in this respect it sets an example to other institutions." Where labour emphasizes the ideals of selflessness and service it also demands the subordination of individual interests to the welfare of the collectivity. "If only affiliates can look beyond their own special interests, we will be effective...." Such demands and the ascription of a higher morality to a group, however, brings us into the domain of particularistic values.

The particularistic ascriptive elements come to the fore when the call goes out for the producers of this nation to unite. They are to unite against the 'corporate elite', or the 'wealthy few' who control the Canadian economy. As long as this corporate elite 'runs the country', unemployment will increase, for "they insure that it is run for their own long-term benefit." The gulf between the few who benefit


98Douglas, loc. cit.
and the many who are disadvantaged is defined in terms of group membership. In this way a definite in-group - out-group dimension is introduced that permits the expression of hostility toward those who 'do not belong'. The we-group comprises all those who produce, the 'others' are the owners and controllers. When it is further pointed out that two-thirds of the corporate elite lives in the United States the additional element of nationalism is brought in which clearly functions to increase the distance between the 'we' and 'other' groups.

In contrast to the service ideals professed by movement unionists management is described in exactly opposite terms. 'Management', 'owners', and those who 'control' are 'selfish' and 'greedy'. Characteristically, however, such attacks are rather muted in Canada. They tend to be formulated in an atmosphere of semi-seriousness that borders on the funny. Local 'tycoons', for example, such as J. V. Clyne, Board Chairman of the timber giant McMillan-Bloedel and Powell River, are depicted as somewhat grotesque figures. Like little children who have been deprived of an extra cookie they are said to cry and complain when their million dollar profits do not increase as rapidly as they hoped. Such constraint can also be found in the turn of


100 Cf. Naegele, op. cit., p. 27.
speech characteristic of movement unionists in Canada. Very rarely do they use the phrase 'worker exploitation'. Only one delegate at the 1961 British Columbia Federation of Labour Convention used the language of the classical revolutionary proletariat. But when he spoke of the 'international capitalist conspiracy bent on exploiting the workers of all countries' the response of most delegates was barely concealed impatience and embarrassment. This lack of fiery fanaticism appears characteristic also of Tommy Douglas, Leader of the New Party. While he certainly attacks the old line parties he does so by the use of canny proverbs or by telling fables. In one of his favourite stories he likens the changing Tory-Liberal rule over the Canadian people to a nation of mice who are governed by cats. In this tale he himself plays the role of the first mouse to propose a fundamental change, viz. the election of mice rather than cats. Or in describing a key issue in the next federal election, Mr. Douglas may say: "The choice will be between a planned economy designed to provide full employment and a higher standard of living or an unplanned economy on the philosophy of every man for himself--as the elephant said when he was dancing among the chickens."  

The particularistic values that spell out the unearned riches and greed of the wealthy are most clearly expressed

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101 Douglas, loc. cit.

in labour songs, designed to unite the workers in the spirit of struggle:

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel could turn;
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom when we learn -
That the Union makes us strong.

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold,
Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand fold,
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old,
For the Union makes us strong.

Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
For the Union makes us strong. 103

While movement unionists may advertise for 'the old songs of labour', 104 when it comes to singing them not much enthusiasm is generated. Although the labour press reported that "delegates were thrilled by the stirring Joe Glazer renditions of some of the most famous labour songs", 105 this appears a gross overstatement. In fact, on one occasion, half the delegates left the hall and the remainder seemed bored and

103 B. C. Federation of Labour, Convention Records, Sixth Annual Convention, Oct. 23-26, 1961, Vancouver, B. C. (Sung by delegates at commencement and closing sessions of the convention.)


perhaps slightly amused but definitely not 'thrilled'.
Therein lies the dilemma of movement unionists in Canada. In
advocating political and economic change they need and seek
that intense sense of unity which can only be born out of
strong hostility. In Canada, however, with her peculiar 'in
between characteristics', it seems the development of that
degree of radicalism and worker solidarity necessary for the
electoral victory of a labour party on the national scene has
been inhibited so far.

In contrast to the movement unionist's service ideal and
emphasis on a broad labour solidarity that includes 'all pro-
ducers' stands the relatively narrow self-concern and the
spirit of competition characteristic of business unionists.
Since the pattern of competition and the use of 'bluff' has
been mentioned in the previous chapter remarks here can be
confined to a few examples of the way in which universalistic
achievement values are most clearly expressed.

As mentioned before, one of the last stalwarts of busi-
ness unionism in British Columbia is the International Bro-
therhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). While most unions in
B. C. welcomed the B. C. Electric take-over by the provincial
government the IBEW was the only union to voice open protest
against this form of 'nationalization'. This protest was
based on the union's experience that it 'could get a better
deal' with private firms. As the Business Manager stated:
"We don't want to be relegated to Civil Service status. We
expect a lot of difficulties with respect to the bargaining positions of our members employed by the B. C. Electric.\textsuperscript{106}

When the writer later queried some of his assistants about the reluctance of this union to support the New Democratic Party he received this classical answer:

Politics - well, our president is an old CCF-er, but that's got nothing to do with me or with the union. The members' politics is their own private business, the union has got nothing to do with that. That's the way the members want it. They passed a motion on the meeting to that effect. You see, we are in the business of selling our skills as best as we can. The industrial unions, well, for them it's logical. They haven't got anything else. If they want something they must get into politics. But for us, it is different. (Emphasis supplied.)

The "individualistic trend"\textsuperscript{107} so characteristic of the universalistic achievement complex was recently expressed by Sandy Bevis, the I.T.U.'s second vice-president. Speaking to a Pacific Northwest I.T.U. regional seminar, he welcomed automation because new machines are creating new jobs for I.T.U. members. "Naturally we have a selfish interest. So we are embracing the changes and striving to achieve new benefits from them." He admitted that the I.T.U. has encountered some difficulty with other unions that do not favour automation. There are jurisdictional disputes, "but", he said,

\textsuperscript{106}A. O'Keefe, Business Manager - Financial Secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 213, personal interview.

\textsuperscript{107}Parsons, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 183.
"things are working out well for us". 108 Such acknowledge-
ment and almost pride in the pursuit of 'selfish gain' which
results from the tremendous emphasis on 'success' and the
relative neglect of means clearly demonstrates the real dif-
ferences in the values held by business and movement union-
ists. While the business unionist, selling his skill, can
take pride in 'getting ahead' even at the cost of having to
fight his fellow unionists for access to scarce jobs the
movement unionist views such conduct as the blackest of
sins a union man can possibly commit. 109

The morality of 'self-interest' which derives from
achievement values apparently also motivates a union that
concentrates on wage gains rather than job security even in
the face of growing unemployment among its own members.
The Painters in British Columbia may be an example of this
behaviour pattern. Chiefly by "riding on the back of more
powerful unions" they have gained wage increases of con-
siderable magnitude by concentrating their negotiations on

108 The Vancouver Sun, April 9, 1962 (Emphasis supplied).

109 Cf. the Newfoundland Federation of Labour's con-
demnation of the Carpenters for raiding I.W.A. locals:
"Be it resolved that this federation goes on record as con-
demning the officials...who are responsible for this un-
principled and contemptible attack on a brother union, and
for their violation of the fundamental ethics of trade
unionism for selfish personal gains...." The B. C. Lumber-
worker, Official Organ of the I.W.A. Regional Council No.
large construction projects. The members who are out of work are largely left to their own devices. They can work 'under the hat', i.e. for less than union rates, in the residential market which the union almost deliberately sacrificed, or they can find work somewhere else.

Strauss reporting on Business Agents (B.A.'s) in the construction industry gives an example of almost 'pure' business unionism. Most foremen in the industry were also union members. They were also under the control of B.A.'s who expected them to be 'pushers'. "With some exaggeration," Strauss recounts, "one might say that the unions' function was to sell labour and the foreman's job was to make sure that the employer got his money worth." This pattern appears to be related both to the intense craft pride of Strauss' respondents as well as the mutual dependency for survival that characterizes employer-union relations in the small construction field.

The dominance of universalistic achievement values expresses itself further in a philosophy of 'every man for himself' and 'anything goes, provided it brings results'. Such philosophy was clearly evident among Strauss' B.A.'s who engaged in intense competition for scarce job opportunities for their members. Most B.A.'s in the study admitted: "I get

110 Jamieson, op. cit., p. 21.

111 Strauss, op. cit., p. 98.
what I can get. I know other B.A.'s do exactly the same: that's why I don't feel too bad about it."112 The last referent to possible 'bad feelings about it' appears to indicate the scarcely repressed particularistic criteria that forbid the use of means detrimental to other fellow unionists. Nevertheless, these criteria are ineffective among business unionists as also indicated in patterns of employer-union collusion. The refusal to consider any other standards than efficiency, effectiveness, etc., appears in stark relief where relations between employer and the B.A. were too good. As Strauss reports, here "the temptation was strong to enter into a conspiracy to reduce competition". In such cases the employer secured the B.A.'s position in the union through punishing the B.A.'s political rivals by giving them dirty jobs or subjecting them to frequent lay-offs. The B.A. in turn kept down the number of contractors entering the field through the use of picketing. "Together they kept the men from causing 'trouble'. The employer gained lush profits; the B.A. won firm control over his union and perhaps a little 'protection money' on the side. The customer paid the bill."113

This drive for more, be it more money or more power, was once most clearly expressed by the American labour leader S.

112 Ibid., p. 122.

113 Ibid., p. 154.
Gompers: "What labour wants is simply more."¹¹⁴ In contrast, the ascriptive elements inherent in the philosophy of movement unionists compells them to seek 'justice' rather than simply more. While these labour leaders may be hesitant to define the 'just share due to labour', labour politicians are not afraid to refer for example to Sweden where "after a decent standard of living was achieved for all, wages automatically rise in proportion to rising productivity."¹¹⁵ Though the proportionate increase may not be fixed such arrangements at least establish the principle of the workers' right to a 'fair share in the nation's prosperity'.

Finally, the scope of legitimate union functions tends to be much broader in the case of movement unionism where the leaders form an elite than in the case of business unionism where the leaders tend to be executives. More precisely, movement union leaders tend to perceive of their position as involving rather diffuse role obligations. Business managers, on the other hand, define their role more specifically. To give an example of these different views one might compare the statement of the business unionist who defined himself as a salesman of skills with the following


¹¹⁵Douglas, loc. cit.
pronouncement of a movement union leader:

Not only must labour undertake to act in the realm of both economics and politics. In my opinion the labour movement must extend the scope of its activities and interests to embrace a still wider field. Economic security is a highly desirable objective, and political democracy is equally important, involving basic principles of freedom and self-respect, but these alone are insufficient to meet human needs to the fullest extent. It is essential for example, that labour interests itself in education, in health, in the development of human personality to the highest level; that it seek to eradicate the evils of hate, fear, of race prejudice, of exploitation of the weak by the strong, and all the other evils which have plagued mankind since the beginning of time. The interests of the labour movement must be as wide as human life itself.\(116\)

In this view the legitimate functions of a union simply cover everything from "adequate care for the mentally ill" to "extending constructive aid in the establishment of a working class government";\(117\) everything, that is, considered essential for human welfare by union leaders. However, such opposed views as to the role of union leader express differences of values or principles. They may not necessarily be reflected in the day-to-day activities of union leaders. In effectively democratic locals where the leadership changes periodically even a business unionist may have to "carry out the numerous other duties of a political ward leader or a parish priest"


in order to insure his re-election. But in the case of the business unionist such diffuse functions have instrumental significance relative to individual achievement. He assumes these duties to keep his job or to advance himself. For the movement unionist 'who works for humanity', on the other hand, such diffuse functions are an end in themselves. As he sees it, his responsibility lies with the total welfare of his membership and even of society in general.

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118 Strauss, op. cit., p. 130.
CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This paper proposed a relationship between social values, economic factors, and the nature of political programmes among Canadian labour unions. It was pointed out that patterns of political action among Canadian unions pose a problem in as much as different unions have until recently pursued almost diametrically opposed policies. Only of late have most unions been able to agree at least in principle on a general policy, viz. support of the New Democratic Party.

A brief résumé of some major union theories showed that this problem generally did not exist in the case of American unions. With the exception of a few isolated instances that occurred in the wake of the Great Depression, most American unions have consistently followed a non-partisan political policy. By contrast the European labour movement has a long and continuing history of co-operation with various kinds of Socialist parties.

A brief consideration of some of the major values of American society, viz. the universalistic-achievement complex, showed that these values appear most compatible with politics carried on through pressure group and lobby activities rather than through genuine political parties. It was therefore
proposed that the non-partisan political policies so characteristic of American unions may well be related to the influence of the American value system. The partisan political approach so characteristic of European unions was related in a similar manner to some value dimensions dominant in Western Europe. For Europeans the universalistic-ascriptive value complex defines what proper social arrangements ought to be like. These values appear therefore closely connected with the vision of a better society toward which the labour movement aspires. Particularistic-ascriptive values on the other hand, provide European unionists with a relatively strong sense of solidarity. This permitted them to act in unison to a much higher degree than was possible for American unions.

Canadians appear to be influenced by both the American and the European value systems. Unionists in Canada therefore are exposed, as it were, to opposed value standards. The question whether the American or the European model appeals more to Canadian unionists may well hinge on economic factors. It was argued that the possession of skills and employment security would tend to make the American model more appealing. Unskilled workers if subjected to periodic or prolonged unemployment, on the other hand, are likely to find the European model more acceptable. Movement unionism, i.e. the adoption of a partisan political policy, would therefore tend to develop among industrial unions who experience unemployment. Business unionism, i.e. the adoption of a non-partisan
political policy, on the other hand, becomes a more likely development among craft unions not subjected to unemployment. Under conditions of severe unemployment, however, craftsmen cannot harvest that crop of high earnings the seeds of which they invested in apprenticeship. In a sense, they may well feel that the system has cheated them, and, as a consequence, become more movement like.

In the past unions who perceived themselves as belonging to the skilled crafts affiliated with the T.L.C.; those perceiving themselves as industrial unions, on the other hand, affiliated with the C.C.L. A survey of average yearly employment covering the period 1946-1960 was undertaken for two industry groups. In the first group of industries C.C.L. affiliates had organized the majority of employees. In the second, original T.L.C. affiliates predominated. The survey showed that for the period covered the less skilled C.C.L. unionists had experienced more unemployment than their skilled T.L.C. colleagues. This difference in employment security narrowed, however, after 1956 when increasing unemployment became a serious problem in the Canadian economy.

A survey of the relevant convention record showed that the T.L.C. had consistently pursued a non-partisan political policy. The opposite was found in the case of the C.C.L. who had with equal consistency pursued a partisan political policy. Only when unemployment became a serious problem and made itself felt among the ranks of original T.L.C. affiliates did
the two groups in the joint congress unite their opposed political views. In 1958 the C.L.C. adopted a partisan political policy. A separate survey of employment among the B. C. Building Trade unions showed similar results. Under the impact of severe unemployment even these skilled crafts joined the ranks of New Party supporters. These events, therefore, appear to support our hypotheses of the relationship between economic factors and the nature of political policies.

Finally, the statements made by union leaders as well as their conduct appear to reveal that movement and business unionists do in fact subscribe to different values. Business unionism tends to be characterized by a relatively narrow self concern, competition, and success orientation inherent in the major American values, i.e. the universalism-achievement complex. Movement unionism, on the other hand, tends to be characterized by a broader concern with human welfare in general and the means by which it can be achieved. These concerns are inherent in universalisticascriptive value orientations more highly developed in Europe. The statements by movement unionists also reveal that they are possessed by a sense of internal solidarity that springs from particularistic orientations. In the case of Canadians, however, this solidarity and its attendant hostility towards the managerial elite appears less developed than it is among European unionists.

Conclusion

It appears, therefore, that these findings provide some
measure of validity to the relationship between social values, economic factors, and the nature of union political programmes proposed in this investigation. The lack of adequate scales to measure the various value dimensions, however, necessarily lead to a rather subjective approach in the description of the values held by different kinds of union leaders. A further serious methodological problem encountered in this study concerns the difficulty of controlling all the relevant variables involved in the relationship hypothesized. The I.B.E.W., a highly skilled craft union, which today is a typical business union, for example, was for a long time dominated by Communist leadership. The Communists, furthermore, did not become established in response to extraordinarily high unemployment. While the carpenters in Newfoundland may act in a manner more characteristic of business unions, they are in other parts of the country very active in the New Democratic Party. There are N.D.P. clubs entirely composed of carpenters both in B. C. and Ontario. These examples clearly demonstrate that apart from skill and unemployment other variables not examined in this investigation are also related to the nature of political programmes of Canadian unions. In a broad survey of this kind, however, it seems impossible to develop more than plausible explanations. In view of these facts apparently only one valid conclusion can be drawn from the findings offered in this study: Other factors being equal, Canadian craft unions not subject to severe unemployment will
tend to adopt the major American values as a model and therefore act in accordance with Gompers' political neutralism. Industrial unions in Canada when subject to unemployment will tend to adopt the major European values as a model and therefore act in accordance with European union practice, viz. support of a Socialist party.
APPENDIX
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*D.B.S. Employment & Payrolls
### TABLE II

**Average Yearly Employment (1949 = 100)**

*Industries in which T.L.C. (A.F. of L.) Unions Predominate*

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*D.B.S. Employment & Payrolls*
### TABLE III


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<th>Motor Vehicles</th>
<th>Electrical Apparatus</th>
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### TABLE IV

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#### Weighted Average

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TABLE V

T.L.C. UNIONS WHOSE DELEGATES SUPPORTED PARTISAN OR NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL POLICIES AT CONVENTIONS

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<td>Railway carmen**</td>
<td>Boilermakers and shipbuilders*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Street and electric railway employees**</td>
<td>Machinists*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fur workers*</td>
<td>Seamen*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Railway carmen**</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bookbinders*</td>
<td>Street and electric railway employees**</td>
</tr>
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TABLE V (continued)

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<td>Chemical workers**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Machinists*</td>
<td>Carpenters*</td>
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* Union with fully developed apprenticeship system.

** Union without fully developed apprenticeship system.
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<td></td>
<td>Mine workers</td>
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</tr>
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<td>ACWA (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auto workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Civil utility and electrical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Railway engineers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Steel workers</td>
<td>Electrical radio and machine workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mine workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auto workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Packinghouse workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Steel workers</td>
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<tr>
<td>1948</td>
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<td>Fur and leather workers</td>
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<td>Mine workers</td>
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<td>Auto workers</td>
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<td>Auto workers</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Steel workers</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1954</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woodworkers</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Packinghouse workers</td>
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<td>No discussion</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>Consumer Price Index</td>
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<td>24,011</td>
<td>121.9</td>
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<tr>
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<td>125.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>26,676</td>
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<td>1960</td>
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Table VIII

<table>
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<td>1949</td>
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<td>8,000</td>
<td>5,092</td>
<td>1,571</td>
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<td>8,629</td>
<td>8,386</td>
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<td>10,498</td>
<td>5,397</td>
<td>1,945</td>
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<td>5,493</td>
<td>1,950</td>
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<td>11,360</td>
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<td>13,140</td>
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<td>16,524</td>
<td>13,209</td>
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<td>1960</td>
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## TABLE IX

### UNEMPLOYMENT IN CANADA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Annual Ave. Percentage of Labour Force Unemployed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>7.1</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>7.0</td>
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TABLE X

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE FROM YEAR TO YEAR, CANADA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA 1951 - 1958

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>British Columbia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951-52</td>
<td>+12.4</td>
<td>+11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td>+ 6.0</td>
<td>+ 8.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1953-54</td>
<td>- 5.9</td>
<td>-14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>+10.7</td>
<td>+28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>+24.4</td>
<td>+45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>+ 8.8</td>
<td>+18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(estimated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>- 2.3</td>
<td>-25.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 1951-57: new construction - Canada +116.4%
               B. C. +170%

               all construction - Canada + 92%
               B. C. +137%

Source: Private and Public Investment in Canada, Regional Estimates, series from 1951 to 1958, Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa.


TABLE XI

AVERAGE ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY
OF B. C. 1949-1959

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average Employment</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average Employment</th>
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<td>1949</td>
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<td>1955</td>
<td>24,500</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21,200</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>32,400</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>21,800</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>36,200</td>
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<td>1952</td>
<td>26,600</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>26,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>29,700</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>28,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>24,900</td>
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Source: S. Jamieson, Building and Construction in British Columbia: A Special Case
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