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UNION SATISFACTION: AN AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Against a backdrop of union amalgamations and declining union density, this paper explores discrete elements of (dis) satisfaction that Australian unionists' have with aspects of their union's performance. Previous studies into union satisfaction [principally from the U.S. and Sweden], have focused on two major categories of independent union satisfaction variables: relationship and 'bread and butter' issues. The existing explanations of union satisfaction suggest that most importantly, a union's somewhat intangible resources of time, patience, and availability may be the key to a member's satisfaction with union representation. And, and important, but less so, are members' satisfaction with traditional union 'bread and butter' issues. The findings of this paper concur that relationship issues are quite important in accounting for union satisfaction, but not so for 'bread and butter issues'. From an Australian perspective, it appears that other variables such union performance at an individual workplace, as well as the provision of better union services post-amalgamation best explain the union-member satisfaction conundrum.

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INTRODUCTION

Customer satisfaction is a factor important to an organisation's on-going success, and it seems that increasing satisfaction has become an organisational catch-cry. Indeed, it has even been argued that satisfying customers is an organisation's primary obligation, and that all organisational activities should be evaluated in terms of their contribution to achieving this objective (Peterson and Wilson 1992). Trade unions should not be exempted from this sort of scrutiny.

Union members are consumers of the services that their union provides and hence, can be regarded as a union's 'customers', somewhat analogous to the relationship between a supplier and consumer of a given product. Back in 1994, a prominent Australian union leader, Michael Costa, made the point that unions needed to treat members as customers. Now, several years on, it appears that some Australian unions may be consciously treating members as consumers (McDonald 1997; Hall and Harley 1988).

Since the 1980s there has been a growing interest in consumer satisfaction/dissatisfaction (CS/D) research (see for example, among others, Oliver 1980; Churchill and Surprenant 1982; Bearden and Teel 1983; Woodruff, Cadotte and Jenkins 1983; Swan and Oliver 1989; Woodside, Frey and Daly 1989; Tse, Nicosia, and Wilton 1990; and Gotlieb, Grewal, and Brown 1994). Evidence from CS/D research indicates that word-of-mouth recommendations are an important determinant of the behavioural intentions of consumers (Swan and Oliver 1989). And, as argued by Kearney 1991 (in Waterman 1994:241), a disgruntled customer goes on to tell, on average, nine other people about his or her unhappiness. This notion is germane to the issue of union satisfaction as it is known that non-union employees play an important role in influencing members' attitudes toward the union (Iverson and Buttigeg 1997), and that union membership levels are almost certainly affected by what union members tell non-union employees about their union (Fiorito, Gallagher and Fukami 1988).

Numerous studies point to the significance of union satisfaction research (see Appendix I for an overview). And, emanating principally from the United States, a small but instructive body of empirical research has sought to pinpoint discrete determinants of union satisfaction by using statistical techniques (Fiorito et al. 1988; Jarley, Kuruvilla and Casteel 1990). Yet, from an Australian perspective, there appears to have been somewhat of a reluctance to investigate the notion of union satisfaction. Indeed, only the works of Peetz (1990; 1992), Galenson (1994), Goot (1996), and Morehead, Steele, Alexander, Stephen, and Duffin (1997) appear to have tackled this issue. And apart from Goot (1996), these studies have examined union satisfaction as a tangential issue within broader union studies.

The dearth of research interest into this particular branch of industrial relations is surprising for a number of reasons, only one of which is the alarming decline in union density. According to the latest figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), union density has plummeted from 51 per cent in 1976 to 26 per cent in 1999 (ABS Cat. Nos. 6325.0. 6310.0). Indeed, since 1992 union membership has dropped by almost 600,000 – despite the creation of around 1.4 million new jobs. The slump has occurred across all industry sectors and in all states and territories, and has not abated, despite a radical transformation in the structure of the Australian union movement, achieved principally via union amalgamations since the late 1980s.

Observers have put forward multi-factorial explanations such as dwindling employment in the public sector and other highly unionised industries, or structural and business cycle shifts to account for the Australian slump (e.g. Peetz 1992; Borland and Ouliaris 1994; Griffin and Svensen 1996; Western 1996). Another plausible explanation worth considering is the notion of union dissatisfaction. Burrell and Stutchbury (1994) for example, advance that declining union membership is a reflection of 'customer' dissatisfaction with unions. It may well be therefore, that the member services delivered by Australian unions are falling short of

¹ The rationale behind the 1987 Australian Council of Trade Unions¹ (ACTU) rationalisation and amalgamation strategy was that economies of size would enable Australian unions to provide improved and more diverse services to their existing union members. A key objective however, was to arrest the decline in union density

members' expectations, and are hence having a negative effect on union satisfaction. Hence, research into this somewhat neglected area of industrial relations warrants attention.

Against a backdrop of union amalgamations and declining union density, the purpose of this paper is to explore discrete elements of (dis)satisfaction that Australian unionists' have with aspects of their union's performance, and also to determine whether the findings of Fiorito et al. (1988) and Jarley et al. (1990) are generalisable to an Australian setting. The first task of this paper is to provide a brief background to recent changes affecting the Australian union movement. Following this, a model of union satisfaction within an Australian context is developed and tested empirically. This paper concludes by discussing the implications of this model for Australian unions.

BACKGROUND TO RECENT CHANGES AFFECTING THE AUSTRALIAN UNION MOVEMENT

The metamorphosis of the Australian union movement since the late 1980s was essentially built on two components, rationalisation and regeneration. Clearly, there was a need to rationalise and restructure the movement since the number of unions - 316 - was unwieldy, with some 62 per cent of all unionists represented by only 34 unions (ACTU 1987). Since the implementation of the ACTU amalgamation strategy, while there has been a dramatic reduction in the number of unions (federally registered unions are down from 136 to 48, while state registered unions are down from 180 to 94), representing the interests of 1.9 million Australian employees, union density has continued to plummet.

Between 1983-1996 in Australia, a Federal Labor government was in power. A close alliance existed between this government and the ACTU. Unions were guaranteed a seat under the table, and were able to exert influence over economic and social policy making. In early 1996 however, the Federal Labor government was swept out of office, and was replaced by an overtly anti-union conservative coalition government. Amongst other things, this newly elected government set out to deregulate the extant industrial relations system and to change the shape of Australian unionism put in place by the ACTU amalgamation strategy.

Of importance is a piece of specific industrial legislation enacted by this government - the Workplace Relations Act 1996 (Cth.) (the Act). Pertinent to the ACTU amalgamation strategy, under Section 188 (I), the Act allows for the formation of new, small (at least fifty members), enterprise-based unions, and unions can now ballot to disamalgamate. As well, the Act has removed or modified most forms of organisational protection for unions that have traditionally been part of the Australian industrial relations system (Naughton 1997). The changes brought about by the Act have sent a clear message to Australian unions: become better organised and focus on identifying and satisfying the needs of members at the workplace or risk becoming even more marginalised.

UNION SATISFACTION LITERATURE

Explanations of union satisfaction account for two empirical approaches. The first looks at global union satisfaction, or in other words, an approach that provides a 'big picture' perspective (See Appendix I). The second approach, which is the interest of this paper, attempts to identify discrete determinants of union satisfaction by using sophisticated statistical techniques. Two key studies, one employing U.S. data (Fiorito et al. 1988 [the FGF model], and the other employing U.S. and Swedish data (Jarley et al. 1990 [the JKC model]), have focused on two major categories of independent union satisfaction variables: relationship and 'bread and butter' issues Their explanations of union satisfaction can be classified into two principal groupings: most importantly, members' satisfaction with union relationship issues (such as having a say in running the union, the handling of member grievances, the availability of union officials when needed, the

² As an example, the *Act* allows for the removal of union preference provisions, closed shop arrangements, and places limits upon union right of entry. The *Act* has simplified awards; it encourages individual employment contracts, and places a strong emphasis on enterprise bargaining.

union's ability to listen to the concerns of members, and to keep members informed), and important, but less so, members' satisfaction with traditional union 'bread and butter' issues (such as getting better wages and fringe benefits and improved job security). Moreover, based on their findings Jarley et al. (1990:128) felt able to generalise that:

the similarity of the results across these two samples suggests that the primary determinants of union satisfaction may transcend cultural and organisational differences in industrial relations systems.

In summary, the empirical evidence is that a union's somewhat intangible resources of attention, time and patience, or relationship issues are foremost in accounting for an individual's satisfaction with union representation. However, the more tangible 'bread and butter' issues of wages, fringe benefits and job security are also important. And, while these variables may not constitute a complete range of factors articulating unionists' satisfaction, they represent the major areas of union satisfaction investigated to date.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Two different target union populations are the subjects of this paper. Their memberships encompass a broad range of industries, in both the private and public sectors of the economy. At the time of the survey that forms the basis of this paper, both unions had been amalgamated for a considerable time. Under the supervision of the writer, survey questionnaires were mailed to participants throughout Australia during August and September 1993 along with a letter of endorsement from the relevant union. The questionnaires provided information on a broad range of biographical, union orientation, member services, and member satisfaction data. Two hundred and thirty-five useable responses were obtained - a response rate of 27 per cent.³ It is of course, necessary to assess the representativeness of the respondent population, and although somewhat low, the spread of responses was very similar to the population under review. That is, the response rate from both unions closely paralleled the stratified sample.

DATA ANALYSIS

Multiple regression is used to analyse the relationship between overall union satisfaction as the dependent variable and a set of independent variables.⁴ (Appendix II provides information on all variables utilised in this paper).

RESULTS

Equation 1.1 employed the structure of the JKC model. Equation 1.2 [following the FGF model], introduced a range of supplementary independent variables. (Appendix III displays the results of Equation 1.1., ⁵ and Equation 1.2.)

From Equation 1.2., four statistically significant variables emerged to account for union satisfaction from an Australian perspective: UNION PERFORMANCE; BETTER SERVICES; RELATIONSHIPS; and EDUCATION. This equation was subjected to a battery of tests that indicated that it was not misspecified, nor was there evidence of heteroskedasticity.

The rank-and file members' assessment of the performance of the union at their individual workplace, UNION PERFORMANCE, was clearly a significant determinant of union satisfaction. This finding needs to be tempered somewhat, as a limitation with this variable was its reliance on a single item measure.

³Fullagar and Barling (1989: 224) note that response rates of between 10 per cent and 30 per cent are common with unions. They cite Etzel and Walker (1974) in this regard.

⁴The regression equations are generated using the Econometric Views software package, version 2.

⁵ Equation 1.1 appeared to provide some insights into the determinants of union satisfaction, however formal testing indicated that this equation had concerns with heteroskedasticity, making further analyses problematic.

Nevertheless, the robustness of this variable as a determinant was apparent. In an earlier Australian study, Peetz (1992) determined that over one-third of respondents were satisfied with the union delegate at their workplace. His finding, together with that made here provides a clue to explaining the broader issue of union satisfaction, and points to the contributing role that union delegates play in the union satisfaction paradigm. The ACTU argued cogently that because of the economies of size achieved through amalgamation, members could expect improved and more diverse services. It was expected therefore, that the provision of better services following amalgamation would be positively associated with respondents' overall union satisfaction. Contrary to these expectations however, BETTER SERVICES carried the negative sign. The explanation for this lies in the views of respondents. An examination of the responses revealed that only 4 per cent of respondents felt that service provision since amalgamation was better. Interestingly, in the intervening years, there is no published evidence that service provision to Australian unionists has improved (Dabscheck 1996).

In line with the findings of the FGF and JKC models, although with a lower level of statistical significance, the RELATIONSHIP index appears to incorporate important considerations associated with overall union satisfaction for Australian unionists. On the other hand, the 'bread and butter' index (BREADANDBUTTER), was statistically non-significant, and this was at odds with the findings of these models. Even more so since there is evidence that Australian unionists have a positive and significant union/non-union wage differential, and in general, receive better fringe benefits, (particularly in the area of superannuation), than do the non-unionised workforce (Miller and Mulvey 1992; Kornfeld 1993). One possible explanation for the statistical non-significance of 'bread and butter' issues and union satisfaction may lie with changes in wage determination experienced in Australia since the late 1980s. Australia has moved toward a decentralised approach to wage determination and individual workplaces have more scope to determine their own work practices and wage outcomes. The Industrial Relations Reform Act (1993) encouraged more enterprise bargaining activity within the federal system and consequently, non-union bargaining was introduced across the spectrum.

Interestingly, and in contrast to the FGF model, educational attainment (EDUCATION) was shown to be a statistically significant determinant of union satisfaction. This suggests that from an Australian perspective, unions need to be cognisant of the fact that more highly qualified unionists may not be as satisfied as their less qualified counterparts.

On the other hand, the three variables associated with union orientation (IDEOLOGUE, INSTRUMENTAL, and COMPELLED), had consistently weak coefficients and t-statistics, and were statistically non-significant determinants of union satisfaction. Other supplementary independent variables, union participation (UNION PARTICIPATION), union visits (UNION VISITS), input into service provision (SERVICE INPUT) and benefits delivered (BENEFITS DELIVERED) were also statistically non-significant determinants.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was twofold: to attempt to identify the determinants of union satisfaction from an Australian perspective; and to investigate whether the findings of Fiorito et al. (1988) and Jarley et al. (1990) were generalisable.

The most obvious conclusion from the empirical analyses is that, from an Australian point of view, union satisfaction is determined in a large part, neither by individual characteristics, nor union orientation, but by traditional grass roots representation, member services, educational attainment, along with less tangible, but no less important, union relationship resources. Hence, there is some evidence that the claims of Jarley et al. (1990) indeed have some merit.

⁶ The Workplace Relations Act (1996) replaced the Industrial Relations Reform Act (1988). Under this Act, as well as collective agreements with unions, employees can negotiate a collective agreement directly (a non-union agreement). In addition, employees may be covered by individual agreements called Australian Workplace Agreements

Providing high level services has become a major objective in all sectors of industry. The findings indicate the importance placed by respondents on the provision of better services since amalgamation, and with the performance of the union at an individual workplace. These represent areas that are within the control of all unions. Dabscheck (1996:139) argues that the costs associated with amalgamation may have drained resources that could have been better used on service enhancement. In this post-amalgamation era, it can be advanced that these resources must be directed toward improving the quality and effectiveness of the representation service that Australian unions offer to members.

Concerning union performance at the workplace, it is acknowledged that the role of the shop steward or delegate, as the representative of both the union and employee members, is a pivotal one (Gallagher and Clark 1989; Callus, Morehead, Cully and Buchanan 1991). Indeed research by Peetz (1992) found that members were more satisfied at a grass roots level with their shop steward/delegate than they were with the union hierarchy or the ACTU. Gallagher and Clark (1989) argue that the performance of these 'first-line' union officials has a positive effect on member commitment. Moreover, according to Gallagher and Clark (1989) the way members view delegates in turn influences the way they view their union. Their findings, together with those made in this paper, suggest that unions must devise and implement innovative strategies aimed at increasing the effectiveness of workplace delegates.

In this paper, a paradigmatic perspective of union satisfaction in Australian amalgamated unions has been presented. It should be noted of course, that the 1990s represented a period of huge transformations in the workplace, such as open-ended 'downsizing', real wage compression, the emergence of a significant underclass, and the wholesale sell-off of many public utilities. These must surely affect both expectations and satisfaction. Thus, the results found in this paper, should be interpreted in this light.

The findings made here provide an indication of the importance of empirical research into the discrete determinants of union satisfaction. Knowledge of these determinants may be important for the fashioning of union policy on a broad range of issues. However, given the nature of satisfaction, it may not be possible to generalise the determinants identified for one or more unions to unions in general, or to the same union in a subsequent period. This does not, of course, mean that the analysis of satisfaction is not relevant. Satisfaction is likely to vary over time, but service providers need to be aware of the determinants and to respond to them. This highlights that the task facing Australian unions with respect to their members' satisfaction may be a large, difficult and constantly changing one.

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Authors	Data set, industry, methodology	Findings
Glick, Mirvis & Harder (1977)	1977 Data U.S. unionised engineers Publicly owned utility (n = 185) Correlation technique	Members' satisfaction with a union was strongly associated with member-union relationships and members' evaluation of the effectiveness of their union's leadership.
Kochan (1979)	1977 U.S. Quality of Employment Survey Data (n = 804) Various industries Correlation technique Regression Cross sectional data Causal inferences	Findings highlight the importance of unions' improving their ability to handle member grievances, to increase the amount of feedback given to members, and to increase the influence that members have in running the union.
Bigoness & Tosi (1984)	1984 U.S Data (n = 1360) Faculty union at a public university. Logit analysis	Union instrumentality was strongly and positively related with a vote in favour of continued union representation. Positive attitude toward unions was related to prounion voting behaviour.
Freeman & Medoff (1984)	1977 U.S. Quality of Employment Survey data (n = 319). Cross tabulation of data	
Hills (1985)	Longitudinal Survey (number of participants not supplied). Male respondents aged between 28-38 years working as an employee of a private	Across all sectors of the economy, 87 percent of respondents (92 percent of blacks and 86 percent of whites) already covered by collective bargaining would vote for the union
Klandermans (1986)	approaches to union part-	Members' dissatisfaction with the services provided by their union played an important role in their decision to quit the union.
Kochan, Katz & McKersie (1986)	ment Survey Data Various industries (n = 804) 1984 U.S. Harris poll conducted for the AFL-CIO	Members who were active in their union evaluated union performance more highly.

Authors	Data set, industry, methodology	Findings
Leigh (1986)		Eighty-three percent of union members would continue to vote for their union in a representation election.
	between 28-38 years working as an employee of a private firm or government	Seventy-seven percent of union members expressed satisfaction with their union. Dissatisfaction with one's union strongly and negatively affected the desire for unionism.
Fiorito,Gallagher & Fukami (1988)	1977 U.S. Quality of Employment Survey Data (n = 228) Various industries Factor analysis Multiple regression	Internal member-union relations and 'bread and butter' issues were more important than quality of working life issues in determining members' satisfaction with their union. Union participation was a positive, and statistically significant determinant of union satisfaction.
		Length of employment was inversely related to union satisfaction.
Shirom & 1977 U.S. Quality of Employment Survey Data (n = 251) Discriminant analysis Correlation technique	Union members who experienced minimal workplace stress evaluated the performance of their union highly in all areas. Effective unions provided members at the	
		workplace with instrumental and emotional coping resources, for example, member-union 'voice'.
Jarley, Kuruvilla & Casteel (1990)	Survey data 1987 and 1988 U.S. union members (n= 173) U.S. sample - manufacturing and public sector Swedish union members (n=1651) Swedish sample - cross-	important determinant of overall union satisfaction. The 'General attitude toward unions' index was found to be statistically significant.
	Swedish sample - cross- sectional Various industries Multiple regression	Quality of work life issues were statistically non-significant determinants of member-union satisfaction.

Authors	Data set, industry, methodology	Findings
Guest & Dewe (1991)	U.K. survey data 1986 (n = 716) Electronic manufacturing plants White & blue-collar employees Factor analysis Correlation techniques Multiple regression Discriminant analysis	Only 50 percent of unionists accepted that the unions in the study were even moderately successful in properly representing their interests, and only 17.6 percent of members were satisfied with union activities at a national level.
Peetz (1992)	Survey data 1990-91 36 workplaces with 20 or more employees in Sydney, N.S.W. (n = 942).	Perceived decline in satisfaction with unions over the preceding two years. Only 8 percent of respondents indicated that they were more satisfied with unions at their workplace than they were over the preceding two years. Thirty-six percent of respondents expressed satisfaction with the union delegates at their workplace. Sixteen percent of respondents expressed satisfaction with the ACTU.
Kuruvilla Gallagher & Wetzel (1993)		Beliefs about union instrumentality were significantly related to union satisfaction. Socialisation into the union was related to union satisfaction for Swedish, but not for Canadian unionists. Extrinsic job satisfaction had a positive relationship with union satisfaction. Intrinsic job satisfaction had a negative relationship with union satisfaction for Swedish unionists, and a positive relationship with union satisfaction for Canadian unionists. Co-workers' attitudes towards the union were positively associated with the respondents' union satisfaction.
Lowe & Northcott (1995)	Canadian union members (n = 992) Two unions representing non-	Stressful working conditions can result in employee dissatisfaction with their union. However, when variables measuring social support at work were added to their analysis, this effect disappeared. The more supportive that workers perceived their shop steward or union representative to be, the less likely they were to be critics of their union.

APPENDIX II

VARIABLE DEFINITIONS

Variable

Definition

SATISFACTION

Five point scale for satisfaction as a member of an amalgamated

(1 = very dissatisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 3 = some satisfaction,

4 = satisfied, 5 = very satisfied)

BREADANDBUTTER

Construct of Satwage, Satfringe, and

Satjobsec. It refers to 'bread and butter' issues.

RELATIONSHIPS

Construct of Satlisten, Satinform,

Satgrieve, Satavail, and Satsay.

It refers to member-union relationship issues

BETTERSERVICES

Three point scale for better service delivery, post

amalgamation.

(1 = Yes, better services, 2 = services are the same, 3 = No,

services are worse)

UNION PERFORMANCE

Five point scale that union performance in representing

members at respondents'

Workplace is good

(1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = indifferent,

4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree)

IDEOLOGUE

Respondents who joined the union for Ideological reasons

INSTRUMENTAL

Respondents who joined the union for Instrumental reasons

COMPELLED

Respondents who joined the union because of either a perception of Compulsion, or because it was compulsory.

EDUCATION

Highest level of schooling completed by respondents (1 = did not complete secondary school, 2 = Completed secondary school, 3 = Trade qualification, 4 = TAFE qualification, 5 = Bachelor Degree or Diploma, 6 = Post

Graduate Degree or diploma, 7 = Other).

GENDER

Male = 0, Female = 1

BIRTHPLACE

Country of Birth

(1 = Australia, 2 = United Kingdom and Ireland, 3 = Southern

Europe, 4 = Other European, 5 = Asia, 6 = Other)

UNION PARTICIPATION

Official position held in Union

(0 = No, 1 = Yes)

UNION VISITS

Three point scale for frequency of visits from full-time union officials to Respondents' workplace (1 = At least every 3

months, 2 = at least every 3-6 months, 3 = irregular or no visits)

SERVICE INPUT

Three point scale on whether union seeks

Member input on service provision

(1 = yes, always, 2 = sometimes, 3 = never)

UNION

Union A = 1, Union B = 0

BENEFITS DELIVERED

Respondents assessment on whether the promised benefits of

amalgamation have been delivered

(0 = No, 1 = Yes).

SATAVAIL

Five point scale for member satisfaction with the union on

being available when needed (I = very dissatisfied, 2 =

dissatisfied,

3 = some satisfaction, 4= satisfied, 5 = very satisfied).

SATFRINGE

Five point scale for member satisfaction

With the union on getting better fringe

Benefits for members (1 = very dissatisfied, 2 = dissatisfied,

3 = some satisfaction, 4 = satisfied, 5 = very satisfied).

SATGRIEVE

Five point scale for member satisfaction with the union on

handling member Grievances

(1 = very dissatisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 3 = some satisfaction,

4 =satisfied, 5 =very satisfied).

SATINFORM

Five points scale for member satisfaction with the union on

keeping members Informed about union issues (1 = very dissatisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 3 = some satisfaction, 4 = satisfied,

5 = very satisfied).

SATJOBSEC

Five point scale for member satisfaction

With the union on improving job

Security (1 = very dissatisfied 2 = dissatisfied, 3 = some

satisfaction, 4 = satisfied, 5 = very satisfied).

SATLISTEN

Five point scale for member satisfaction with the union on listening to the Concerns of members (1 = very dissatisfied,

2 = dissatisfied, 3 = some satisfaction, 4 = satisfied, 5 = very

satisfied).

SATSAY

Five point scale for member satisfaction

With the union on giving members a say in how the union is

run (1 = very dissatisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 3 = some

satisfaction, 4 = satisfied, 5 = very satisfied).

SATWAGE

Five point scale for member satisfaction with the union on getting better wages For members. (1 = very dissatisfied, 2 = very dissatisfied, 2 = very dissatisfied)

dissatisfied, 3 = some satisfaction,4 = satisfied, 5 = very

satisfied).

APPENDIX III

A model of Australian union satisfaction (OLS Coefficients; in parentheses, t-values)

Variable	(n = 235)	(n = 235)
T GI IUDIO	Equation 1.1	Equation 1.2
	Dependent	Dependent
	SATISFACTION	SATISFACTION
INTERCEPT	0.834	2.859
	(4.509)***	(6.164)***
UNION	-0.038	-0.139
	-(0.363)	(-0.955)
BREADANDBUTTER	0.130	0.103
	(1.575)	(1.106)
RELATIONSHIPS	0.536	0.166
+	(7.160)***	(1.849)*
BETTER SERVICES		-0.709
		(-6.014)***
UNION		0.325
PERFORMANCE		(3.373)***
IDEOLOGUE		0.041
72 (CC22 11) (F2) (F2)		(0.438)
INSTRUMENTAL		0.091
CONTRELLED		(1.079)
COMPELLED		-0.042
EDUCATION		(-0.343) -0.099
EDUCATION		(996)**
GENDER		-0.111
		(-0.738)
BIRTHPLACE		-0.044
		(-0.973)
UNION	-	0.050
PARTICIPATION		(0.218)
UNION VISITS	-	0.175
		(1.350)
SERVICE INPUT	-	-0.017
		(-0.252)
BENEFITS DELIVERED	-	0.115
A 1: D2		(0.721)
Adj R ² F	0.40	0.63
Г	47.81 (p = 0.00)	13.52 (p=0.00)
SER	0.75	0.57
AIC/SC	-0.53/-0.47	-0.99/-0.60
	0.00, 0.17	0.777 0.00
White's Test	F = 2.73 (p = 0.02)	F = 1.27 (p = 0.20)
RESET Test	F = 1.78 (p = 0.17)	F = 0.96 (p=0.39)

^{*} Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level, *** at the 0.01 level.

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