

Union Organizing as a Mobilizing Strategy: The Impact of Social Identity and Transformational Leadership on the Collectivism of Union Members

Christina Cregan, Timothy Bartram and Pauline Stanton

Abstract

This article investigates the effect of union organizing as a mobilizing strategy on the collectivism of union members. We examine the impact of a worker's social identification with fellow members and the transformational leadership qualities of the local union representative. We employ regression analysis with tests of mediation to analyse the survey responses of c. 1,000 rank and file members of a major professional union, collected in July 2004 during a mobilization campaign. Social identification and transformational leadership were associated with members' union loyalty and willingness to work for the union. Social identification acted as a mediating variable in both cases.

1. Introduction

There are two different perspectives on union organizing. At one level, it is held to be a cost-effective, decentralized recruitment strategy, brought about by person-to-person contact at the workplace (Bronfenbrenner and Juravich 1998). At a deeper level, it is viewed as a mobilizing strategy (Cregan 2005). This article investigates organizing as a mobilizing strategy. The aim of a mobilizing strategy is to change the group 'from being a passive collection of individuals to an active participant in public life' (Tilly 1978: 69). A union conducts this strategy by means of a mobilization campaign. It encourages its members to engage in on-site struggles alongside other members under the

Christina Cregan is at the University of Melbourne. Timothy Bartram is at La Trobe University. Pauline Stanton is at Victoria University.

inspirational leadership of a workplace representative; this leads to the social identification of workers with the union and the strengthening of collective attitudes and behaviour (Kelly 1998). Individual consumers of union services become active participants in collectivism (Carter and Cooper 2002). The union and its members are transformed from within (Grabelsky and Hurd 1994).

There has been no systematic investigation of organizing from the perspective of a mobilizing strategy (Heery and Adler 2004). One major study has examined the impact of a mobilization campaign on the collectivism of individual members (Klandermans 1984). But there has been no empirical study of mobilization that examines the impact of workers' social identification with the workplace union and local union leadership on members' collectivism. This is the approach that we adopt in this article. In contrast to Klandermans (1984), we use a non-calculative, group-based view of mobilization (Kelly 1998). Our contribution to the literature is to extend and investigate Kelly's social identity framework, incorporating transformational leadership. The inspirational elected workplace leaders envisaged by union organizing (Charlwood 2004; Fletcher and Hurd 1998; Sharpe 2004) can be described as transformational leaders (Burns 1978; Weber 1947). They direct the mobilizing strategy and help transform the 'mode of operation of their group from individual-oriented, hedonistic, rational-economic . . . to . . . collective, moral and value-oriented' (Shamir *et al.* 1993: 579).

We bring together two sets of literature — social identity and transformational leadership — to construct hypotheses to examine the strength of collectivism in union members. Only a handful of empirical studies have used social identity theory to investigate collectivism in union members (e.g. Blader 2007; Kelly and Kelly 1994; Metocchi 2002), and there are even fewer studies of the effect of leadership on groups, in particular, of transformational leadership (e.g. Fullagar *et al.* 1992; Kelloway and Barling 1993; Twigg *et al.* 2008). 'Very little is known about the impact of transformational leadership on collectives . . . although virtually every transformational leadership model presumes such effects' (Feinberg *et al.* 2005: 473). It is generally agreed that local union representatives have a 'pivotal role' in the socialization process of membership (Fullagar *et al.* 1994: 530), but we know of no major work that has empirically investigated both social identification and transformational leadership in relation to collectivism.

In July 2004, we carried out a survey of the members of the Victorian branch of the Australian Nursing Federation (ANF) during a well-planned mobilization campaign. We present an analysis of the impact of social identification and transformational leadership on aspects of members' collectivism in the form of union loyalty and willingness to work for the union. Regression analysis with tests of mediation is employed to investigate the survey responses of c. 1,000 union members. The results are discussed in the light of implications for effective union organizing.

2. Mobilization and collectivism

Mobilization is the process whereby, in order to achieve its goals, a social movement builds up its strength by acquiring control over the resources needed for action; these resources are described as ‘labour power’ (Tilly 1978: 70). Social movements are ‘collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities’ (Tilly 1978: 4). They are concerned with struggle against injustice, visible protest and disruption (Klandermans 1997; McAdam 1996; Tarrow 1991). A social movement uses a mobilization campaign to acquire control over labour resources by means of developing collectivism among group members. Collectivism is a ‘social pattern . . . of closely-linked individuals . . . who are willing to give priority to the goals of the group over their own personal goals’ (Triandis 1995: 2). Collectivism is expressed in terms of collective attitudes and behaviour (intended or actual).

A trade union that adopts a mobilizing strategy is an example of a social movement. Unions need to build up labour resources in order to achieve their collective goals (wages, conditions, etc.). They gain these resources by mobilizing members. Mobilization takes the form of engagement by members in local, on-site struggle alongside fellow workers (Kelly 1998). Struggle transforms workers by developing a collective consciousness (Klandermans 1984; Voss and Sherman 2000). Loyalty to the union and activism are expected to result from effective mobilizing. Unions who adopt a mobilizing strategy hope to develop these aspects of collectivism in their membership so that in the future, loyal, active members encourage other workers to take part in the struggle (Kelly 1998).

We use social identity and transformational leadership theories to investigate the relationship between factors related to mobilization and strength of collectivism within the membership. A social identity framework that incorporates the impact of transformational leadership can be used to explain the variability of members’ collectivism. First, the strength of a member’s identification with the workplace union directly influences a member’s collectivism. Second, the transformational leadership qualities of the local union representative (e.g. shop stewards) influence a member’s collectivism by means of their impact on the member’s social identification with the union.

Social Identification and Collectivism

Social identity theory proposes that people wish to belong to a group that they perceive to be distinct from other groups in order to raise their self-esteem. An individual’s perception forms the basis of his/her social identity (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Member involvement in mobilization develops a worker’s social identification with the union. Involvement in struggle develops perceptions of workplace injustice and management blame, leading to the strengthening of a member’s union identity (Kelly 1998). When identification with the group is weak, people view themselves primarily as unique

individuals (Van Vugt and Hart 2004), but as social identification develops, belongingness to the collective is strengthened (Tajfel 1982). Social identification acts as a social glue (Van Vugt and Hart 2004). It is ‘a process whereby people develop a sense of themselves as a distinct group — “we” defined in opposition to “them”’ (Badigannavar and Kelly 2005: 527). The more an individual distinguishes between the out-group (management) and in-group (union), the more the individual identifies with the collective (Kelly and Kelly 1994). Social identification is likely to be stronger in smaller units, such as a work-group, rather than in larger collectives (Ellemers *et al.* 2004).

Social identification plays a major role in determining the strength of collectivism (Kelly and Kelly 1994; Metocchi 2002). High identifiers exhibit strong group loyalty because they have a very positive impression of their group membership (Van Vugt and Hart 2004). Union members who act in a manner that is ‘congruent with the salient aspects of their identity . . . (demonstrate) . . . greater pride and loyalty in the group’ (Iverson and Buttigieg 1997: 1488). The ‘sense of oneness’ that develops between person and group strengthens the member’s willingness to contribute personal resources to the organization (Knobe 1990: 42). Finally, strong social identification increases the intrinsic value of an individual’s efforts in relation to the goals of the collective (Shamir *et al.* 1993). Empirical findings demonstrate that the strength of intra-group identification predicts engagement in union activity especially in difficult forms of participation (e.g. holding union office) (Kelly and Kelly 1994; Metocchi 2002).

Hypothesis 1a: Higher levels of social identification in union members will be associated with greater union loyalty.

Hypothesis 1b: Higher levels of social identification in union members will be associated with greater willingness to work for the union.

The Impact of Transformational Leadership

Transformational leadership has been defined within several literatures as an ideal type. Its core characteristics were developed by Burns (1978) and Weber (1947). More recently, a stream of organizational psychology studies has built on these classic works and adapted them for management (for a comprehensive review, see Bass 1999; for examples of current work, see Avolio *et al.* 2004; Bass and Riggio 2006; Feinberg *et al.* 2005). The major features of transformational leaders, however, are more readily applicable to elected representatives of collectives. The main themes in the literature can be summarized as follows. First, transformational leaders are *charismatic*, exemplary and exceptional in relation to their peers. These qualities ‘foster an impression that they and their mission are extraordinary’ (Conger *et al.* 2000: 748). Second, such leaders arise from *within the group*. They do not form a group, nor are they selected by the bureaucracy. They represent the character and values of the group and in effect become ‘the symbol which binds the

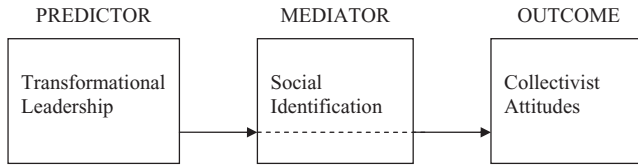
group' (Shamir *et al.* 1993: 584). Third, there is an *emotional relationship* between the leader and the group. Transformational leaders excite strong respect and admiration from the group and build 'intense trust and commitment' (Bass and Avolio 1993). They foster collective emotion and infuse members with a group spirit, establishing 'a covenantal relationship between the union and its members' (Twigg *et al.* 2008: 28). Covenantal relationships are emotional. They go beyond exchange and reciprocity: they 'encompass wider notions of community and social justice' (Snape and Redman 2004: 858). Finally, their role is to *change the group* by means of articulating and developing a vision for the future. They motivate followers to 'transcend their self-interests for a collective purpose, vision and/or mission' (Feinberg *et al.* 2005: 471).

The importance of transformational trade union leaders can be understood clearly from the perspective of a mobilizing strategy. Such leaders encourage the local membership by charismatic, idealistic behaviour, urging their fellow workers into struggle by inspirational example. These elected representatives take part in the struggle alongside their fellow unionists, bearing the costs of industrial action. They develop union solidarity and pride in the movement. By these methods, transformational leaders help to transform or change members, and thereby the union itself.

A distinction in the literature that is highly relevant to trade unions is made between transformational and transactional leader types. Transactional leaders are servants of bureaucracy, providing short-term material incentives to followers. They are associated with instrumental, goal-oriented behaviour on the part of individual members. They are concerned with exchange and reciprocity (Snape and Redman 2004). Transactional leaders provide union services to workers; in response, workers provide membership and support. The paid officials of the postwar years, therefore, typify transactional leaders in trade unions. In contrast, a mobilizing union expects local union representatives to display the characteristics associated with transformational leaders. They bring this about by tying individual members' participation in the union to a collective social identity, thereby strengthening collectivism (Conger *et al.* 2000; Kelly 1998).

This comes about in the following way. Union representatives induce members to strongly identify with the union's collective values and mission (Badigannavar and Kelly 2005). By communicating the mission of the union, they encourage a sense of pride and loyalty (Fullagar *et al.* 1992). They also give meaning to the individual's efforts in the collective struggle — and provide a sense of efficacy — by relating them to the collective mission of the union, past and future (Shamir *et al.* 1993). Transformational union leaders, therefore, help create and develop a member's social identification with the union. This deepens a follower's commitment to the group (Conger *et al.* 2000). Social identification, therefore, acts as a pathway or mediator for the impact of transformational union leaders on their members' collectivism. This mediating relationship is depicted in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1
The Mediating Role of Social Identification.



Empirical findings demonstrate the influence of workplace representatives on the socialization of members (Fullagar *et al.* 1992, 1994) and the association between union leadership characteristics with union loyalty and willingness to work for the union (Kelloway and Barling 1993; Kuruvilla and Fiorito 1984).

Hypothesis 2a: The transformational qualities of the local union leader influence individual member loyalty by means of their impact on the member's social identification.

Hypothesis 2b: The transformational qualities of the local union leader influence individual member willingness to work by means of their impact on the member's social identification.

3. Methods

Context

In July 2004, we carried out a cross-section survey of the members of the Victorian branch of the Australian Nursing Federation (ANF). The ANF, one of the largest trade unions in Australia, is comprised of autonomous state-based branches. During the 1980s, the Victorian branch emerged in its modern form, as an industrial and professional union, in response to work intensification practices (Gordon *et al.* 2008). Members voted to remove the union's no-strike clause, and, in 1986, an historic strike took place (Fox 1991). Following the election of a new state government in the 1990s, the ANF (Vic) implemented a determined mobilization campaign in opposition to plans for further cutbacks and measures of workload expansion (Bartram *et al.* 2008). The major aim of the campaign was to ease an acute nursing shortage by ameliorating terms and conditions of service (ANF (Vic) 2005; O'Connor 2006). The ANF (Vic) pursued a policy relevant to the aspirations of its largely middle-aged, professional membership; it also aimed to win public sympathy (Stanton 2002). The union mobilized nurses — acquired their labour power (Tilly 1978) — by the conscious application of two organizing principles (McCoppin and Gardner 1994). First, it encouraged ordinary members to identify with and 'own' their workplace.

In particular, it set about building a professional identity for members that was compatible with their union identity, whereby nurses viewed themselves as defenders of essential public services and the quality of patient care. Second, formal training courses were introduced for existing representatives and for nurses who wished to become workplace leaders. These courses were concerned with issues of organizing philosophy and union democracy. This programme of action mobilization was supported by consensus mobilization (Erickson *et al.* 2002; Tilly 1978): the union sought community support by extensive publicity that linked nursing shortage to a decline in health standards (Buchanan *et al.* 2004).

The ANF (Vic) used this increase in labour power to establish mandatory nurse–patient ratios by means of industrial action in the form of hospital bed closures and cancellation of elective surgery (Gordon *et al.* 2008). In 2000, the union achieved a major victory over the newly-elected state Labor government when thousands of bed closures led to the introduction of a legally binding nurse–patient ratio (ANF (Vic) 2005). The government, however, was keen to dismantle the ratios in pursuit of flexible work practices (Stanton 2002). The year of our survey, 2004, ‘was devoted (by the union) to retaining the ratios’, and was characterized by a new series of bed closures and theatre cancellations (O’Connor 2006: 1).

We selected the ANF (Vic) for our study because the union was conducting a mobilization campaign that focused on building a union identity in members and providing leadership training in workplace activism. Consequently, it was likely we could capture varying levels of workers’ social identification with fellow members and leaders’ transformational qualities. The context of our survey, therefore, was ideal for our investigation.

Data

In July 2004, a postal questionnaire was distributed by the union to a random sample of 4,000, drawn from its database of c. 40,000 members. All surveys were returned by prepaid post directly to the university researchers. Confidentiality of the participants was assured as the researchers did not have access to the names and contact details of participants. A total of 1,020 completed questionnaires were received. This comprised 2.5 per cent of the total membership and marked a satisfactory response rate of 26 per cent (Alreck and Settle 1995). We excluded the union representatives and were left with a sample of 945 ordinary members.

Ninety-five per cent of these respondents were female. The average age was 44 years. The majority (68 per cent) worked in the public health system. The average time of membership of the ANF (Vic) was 15 years. These sample characteristics are representative of the population of the Victorian branch of the ANF. In 2004, approximately 94 per cent of the branch members were female, almost 70 per cent worked in the public health system, and the mean age of members was 44 years.

Measures Used in the Multivariate Analyses

Unless indicated otherwise, numerical values represent the following responses: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree. In the factor analysis, we used principal components analysis with varimax rotation. The values of multi-item variables were constructed by taking the mean of the component item values. The results of the factor analysis of the items that comprise the outcome and predictor variables are presented in Table A1 in the Appendix.

(a) Outcome variables

Members responded to nine items that measured two major aspects of collectivism that are expected to result from effective organizing: union loyalty and willingness to work for the union. The items loaded on two separate factors. The first factor comprised six items. Five of them were selected from Gordon *et al.*'s (1980) measures that represented loyalty to the union: (a) 'I feel a sense of pride being part of the ANF', (b) 'I tell my friends that it is great to be a member of the ANF', (c) 'There is a lot to be gained by joining the ANF', (d) 'The record of the ANF is a good example of what dedicated people can achieve', (e) 'Deciding to join the ANF was a good move on my part'. A sixth item was developed for this study, based on preliminary interviews with paid organizers and elected representatives: (f) 'If I were victimized by management for being a member of the union I would continue to support the ANF' (alpha = 0.89). The second factor was comprised of three items, selected from Gordon *et al.*'s measures of willingness to work for the union (1980): (a) 'I am willing to put a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected of a member in order to make the ANF successful', (b) 'If asked, I would serve on a committee for the ANF', and (c) 'If asked, I would run for elected office in the ANF' (alpha = 0.79).

(b) Predictor variables

There were two predictor variables. They measured the levels of an individual union member's social identification with their group of fellow ANF members and of the transformational leadership qualities of the local union representative.

We used five items adapted from Hinkle *et al.* (1989) to create a social identification variable: (a) 'I'm glad I belong in my group of ANF colleagues', (b) 'I am an important part of my group of ANF members', (c) 'I feel strongly tied to my group of ANF members', (d) 'I don't think my group of ANF members is that important' (reverse-scored), and (e) 'I think our group of ANF members works well together' (alpha = 0.81).

Workplace representatives are elected by fellow members of a collective. We measured the other features of transformational leadership by constructing a measure based on member perceptions. Transformational leadership is not based on formal authority but on individuals' *perceptions* of extraordinary abilities (Bass and Stogdill 1990). 'Any measurement of charismatic

leadership must be based on followers' perceptions of the specific behavioral attributes of the leader that engender such effects' (Conger *et al.* 2000: 748). We adapted six items from Version 5(x) of the Multi-Factor Leadership Questionnaire (Bass and Avolio 1995) that were relevant measures of the transformational attributes of trade union leaders. The following questions referred to the respondent's perception of their workplace representative: He/she (a) 'emphasizes the worth of having a strong sense of mission', (b) 'talks enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished', (c) 'talks about a great vision for the future for the ANF', (d) 'talks optimistically about the future', (e) 'specifies the worth of having a strong sense of purpose', and (f) 'considers the moral and ethical consequences of decisions'. The six items loaded on a single factor ($\alpha = 0.89$).

(c) Control variables

Our analysis also included a number of control variables. Following Flood *et al.* (1996) and Metocchi (2002), several measures were included to reduce the chance that unmeasured variables could explain the results and to improve generalizability. There are important calculative motives for belonging to a union. For example, some individuals are members because they can obtain private goods, i.e. available only on membership, some join because they are fearful that their reputation might be harmed if they remain non-members; some are members because they believe that their participation helps bring about successful collective outcomes. Empirical work has demonstrated that males, older workers, public sector employees, workers without traditional professional attitudes, Labour voters and long-time union members are associated with collectivism. From these calculative perspectives, members who feel the union is ineffective in achieving private or collective goals are less likely to be loyal and/or work for the union (Booth 1985; Charlwood 2002; Cregan 1999; Cregan and Johnston 1990; Fullagar and Barling 1989; Fullagar *et al.* 1992; Gallagher and Strauss 1991; Hall 1967; Iverson and Buttigieg 1997; Iverson and Kuruvilla 1995; Klandermans 1984, 1986). Details of the measures and values for appropriate control variables to measure these influences are presented in Table A2 in the Appendix.

We used the same set of predictors and controls in two sets of regressions: based on listwise deletion of cases with missing data in the final sample included in the union loyalty regression, $n = 673$ and in the willingness to work regression, $n = 678$. Neither of the effective samples was significantly different from their excluded groups on any of the variables included in this investigation.

4. Results

The means, standard deviations and zero-order correlations for all variables included in the regression analyses are shown in Table 1. Despite moderate associations between some of the variables, multi-collinearity was

TABLE 1
Correlation Matrix

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Sex	0.95	0.22	—											
2. Age	43.35	10.01	0.05	—										
3. Public/private	0.26	0.44	-0.14***	-0.10***	—									
5. Professionalism	3.63	0.51	0.04	0.04	0.09**	—								
6. Labour voter	0.34	0.47	-0.04	0.04	-0.01	0.06	—							
7. Union tenure	14.96	10.17	0.09*	0.49**	0.01	-0.05	0.03	—						
8. Private goals	3.44	0.74	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.20**	0.08*	-0.04	—				
9. Collective goals	3.80	0.59	-0.01	0.08*	-0.03	0.01	0.38**	0.18**	0.05	0.62**	—			
10. Leadership	3.15	0.63	0.04	-0.03	0.01	0.05	0.25**	0.10**	-0.02	0.13**	0.28*	—		
11. Social identification	3.20	0.63	0.03	0.04	0.01	0.05	0.27**	0.12**	0.05	0.30**	0.49**	0.40*	—	
12. Loyalty	3.79	0.62	0.05	0.05	-0.04	0.01	0.34**	0.14**	0.06	0.38**	0.69**	0.29**	0.46**	—
13. Willingness	2.57	0.75	-0.07*	-0.03	0.03	0.06	0.13**	0.13**	-0.06	0.24**	0.34**	0.14**	0.33**	0.38**

N = 815-908.

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE 2
Regression Analysis Outcome Variable: Union Loyalty

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>
Constant	0.55** (0.18)	0.63** (0.18)
Sex	0.19* (0.08)	0.17* (0.08)
Age	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Public/private	0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)
Part time	-0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)
Professionalism	0.07* (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)
Labour voter	-0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Union tenure	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Private goals	-0.06 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
Collective goals	0.67** (0.04)	0.71** (0.04)
Social identity	0.12** (0.03)	—
Leadership	0.06 (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)
<i>R</i> ²	0.51	0.50
<i>F</i>	63.50**	67.25**
<i>N</i>	673	678

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

inconsequential (Hair *et al.* 1998). In both models, the variance inflation factor scores of most of the variables were well below 10; most were close to 1.0, never reaching 2.2.

The results of the regressions are presented in Tables 2–4.

We tested Hypotheses 1a and 1b by regressing loyalty and willingness to work on social identification in two separate regressions (see Table 2, model 1 and Table 3, model 1). Social identification significantly predicted loyalty ($b = 0.12$, $p < 0.01$) and willingness to work ($b = 0.26$, $p < 0.01$). Hypotheses 1a and 1b were supported.

We tested Hypotheses 2a and 2b by following Baron and Kenny’s (1986) formal three-step procedure for assessing the mediating role of social identification between transformational leadership and collectivism. This is a procedure conventionally used to investigate the impact of a mediator variable. For example, Metocchi (2002) used this form of regression to investigate social identification and collectivism. Flood *et al.* (1996) provide a detailed account of the procedure as it relates to conventional industrial relations issues. Put simply, we need to show that transformational leadership leads to collectivism, that transformational leadership leads to social identification, and that when both explanatory variables are introduced in the same model

TABLE 3
Regression Analysis Outcome Variable: Willingness to Work
for the Union

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>
Constant	0.71* (0.28)	0.85** (0.28)
Sex	-0.15 (0.12)	-0.17 (0.12)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Public/private	0.08 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)
Part time	0.06 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)
Professionalism	0.01 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)
Labour voter	0.11* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)
Union tenure	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)
Private goals	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)
Collective goals	0.33** (0.07)	0.43** (0.06)
Social identity	0.26** (0.05)	—
Leadership	0.02 (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)
R^2	0.18	0.15
F	13.15**	11.31**
N	673	678

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

to explain collectivism, transformational leadership loses its importance, but social identification is significant — that is, social identification is the conduit or mediator of the influence of transformational leadership.

Baron and Kenny (1986) outlined three criteria that need to be formally satisfied in order to demonstrate the above process, that is, that a variable has a mediating influence between the predictor variable and the outcome variable(s). First, the predictor variable (transformational leadership) should be significantly related to the outcome variables (loyalty, willingness to work). We regressed loyalty and willingness to work on transformational leadership in two separate regressions (see Table 2, model 2 and Table 3, model 2). Transformational leadership significantly predicted loyalty ($b = 0.09$, $p < 0.01$) and willingness to work ($b = 0.09$, $p < 0.05$). The first criterion was satisfied. Second, the predictor variable (transformational leadership) should be significantly related to the mediator (social identification). We carried out this investigation by regressing the mediator (social identification) on the predictor (transformational leadership). The results are reported in Table 4. Leadership had a significant effect on social identification ($b = 0.28$, $p < 0.01$). This satisfied the second criterion for mediation. Third, the mediating vari-

TABLE 4
Regression Analysis Outcome Variable: Social Identification

Constant	0.58** (0.21)
Sex	0.03 (0.09)
Age	0.01 (0.01)
Public/private	-0.01 (0.04)
Part time	0.07 (0.04)
Professionalism	0.02 (0.04)
Labour voter	0.06 (0.04)
Union tenure	0.01 (0.01)
Private goals	0.02 (0.03)
Collective goals	0.40** (0.05)
Leadership	0.28** (0.03)
R^2	0.32
F	31.64**
N	674

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

able (social identification) should be related to the outcomes (loyalty, willingness to work), with the predictor (transformational leadership) included in the equation. We had demonstrated that this was the case in the process of testing the first set of hypotheses (see Table 2, model 1 and Table 3, model 1). Complete mediation was present because in the presence of the mediating variable (social identification), the predictor variable (transformational leadership) had a non-significant beta weight in both regressions ($b = 0.06$, $p = ns$; $b = 0.02$, $p = ns$). The third criterion for mediation was satisfied.

Finally, we conducted a Sobel test for indirect effects (Sobel 1982), calculated at <http://people.ku.edu/~preacher/sobel/sobel.htm> (retrieved 15 June 2007). The results supported a significant indirect effect of transformational leadership on loyalty (Sobel = 3.93, $p < 0.01$) and on willingness to work for the union (Sobel = 4.54, $p < 0.01$). Hypotheses 2a and 2b were supported.

5. Discussion and conclusions

We carried out regression tests for mediating relationships to investigate the determinants of collectivism of members in a trade union that was conducting a mobilization campaign. Our results demonstrated that the social identification of the individual member with the workplace union and the

transformational leadership qualities in the local union representative were associated with the individual member's union loyalty and willingness to work for the union. Social identification also acted as a mediator between transformational leadership and the collectivism of members.

These results add to our understanding of theories that underpin union organizing as a mobilizing strategy. One of the major contributions of Klandermans' (1984) study lay in its valuable attempt to explain the impact of mobilizing on the individual member's willingness to participate in collective activities. Klandermans, however, presented members responding in an individual, rational manner. Members made a calculation based on the combination of the value they attached to the goals of the campaign and their expectations of goal achievement. Rational individualism characterized union membership theories up to the 1980s and was fraught with free-rider problems (Creagan and Johnston 1990). Our study follows in the wake of Klandermans' pioneering work on union mobilization, but the findings support a non-calculative theoretical approach whereby members are suffused with an emotional group spirit (Gallagher and Strauss 1991). The development of this group-based emotion underpins a mobilizing strategy. Individual members do not make a calculated bargain with an external mobilizing force. In contrast, mobilization arises from within the work-group by means of internally derived processes of social identification and transformational leadership, characteristic of social movements.

What are the implications of our findings for the current practices of trade unions? First, the results demonstrate that social identification with fellow members at the workplace is associated with collectivism in the individual worker. Unions, therefore, are encouraged to foster the development of the workplace union. Social identification, however, needs a critical mass of members. In situations of voluntary unionism, such as Australia or the UK, it is possible to develop workplace membership to a threshold level. The Australian Trade Union Congress (ACTU) has a policy of hiring trainee organizers to target non-union workplaces (ACTU 2009).

Second, the results tell us that transformational workplace union leaders are associated with both social identification and collectivism of members. Unions, therefore, should provide training to develop leadership skills and encourage members with transformational qualities to become workplace representatives. The Australian, British and US union movements all offer extensive training courses for local representatives and organizers (ACTU 2009; AFL-CIO 2009; TUC 2009). However, there is no unequivocal academic evidence that leaders can be trained to become transformational. There is sparse union-based work. An experimental study conducted in a Canadian labour union found that leaders trained in organizational justice skills significantly increased member support for the union as an organization and also as 'brothers and sisters' (Skarlicki and Latham 1996). In a series of case studies, some union leaders favourably evaluated the training they received in organizing skills, for example, the establishment of committees (Voss and Sherman 2000). The few empirical studies that directly examine the

effectiveness of transformational leadership training are largely restricted to the US management literature. It is difficult for unions to place much value on studies of the effectiveness of training business executives because transformational leaders emerge from the group and are not appointed by the bureaucracy. Nevertheless, a recent review of the organizational literature concluded that leaders who possess transformational qualities 'can and are developed over time both in natural settings and in workshops' (Avolio *et al.* 2003: 291) For example, managers who took part in a year-long, intensive project comprising monthly training workshops with an emphasis on feedback from subordinates were found to develop their transformational qualities (Barling *et al.* 1996). The organizational literature also provides some evidence that transformational leaders possess intrinsic qualities, although as yet these factors are not well understood (Avolio *et al.* 2003). The UK Trade Union Congress is making conscious attempts to encourage members with such qualities to take up leadership roles. It targets trainees with what it terms the union 'X-factor', citing attributes such as the development of new and imaginative ideas (TUC 2009).

We must exercise some caution with regard to drawing broader conclusions than our results warrant and to recommending the general application of the principles of ANF (Vic) mobilizing. First, although our findings do provide strong support for the impact of transformational leadership and social identification on the collectivism of members, we did not examine the entire process of organizing by mobilization. For example, although the ANF carried out leadership training for workplace representatives, we did not investigate whether the training was associated with transformational qualities in workplace representatives. In the same way, although the membership of the ANF (Vic) increased during 2004 (ANF 2005), we did not examine the impact of collectivism on recruitment or on outcomes of the campaign in the form of terms and conditions. Second, the association between transformational leadership, social identity and collectivism might be apparent only under certain conditions. The mobilization campaign of the ANF (Vic) was driven by the membership. It was characterized by rank and file participation in the form of state-wide mass meetings, stop-work meetings and overwhelming support for bed closures (Gordon *et al.* 2008). Recent work suggests that unions that fail to establish an internal structure, which allows for thorough consultation of membership, will not organize effectively (Carter 2000). Our findings also show the continuing importance of the success of the union in 'delivering' collective goals. Unless unions can develop a cohesive mobilizing strategy to achieve this outcome, it might be wise not to remove all aspects of the traditional servicing model. Members may question the purpose of paying union fees for a decentralized, 'do-it-yourself' trade unionism.

There are limitations of this study that must be considered. Union members who are most interested in mobilization and union organizing may be over-represented in the sample. The results may not be generalizable to workers in non-professional unions or in workplaces where unions are weak

or unsuccessful. There may be problems of common method variance. Nevertheless, the limitations of our survey are balanced by considerable strengths from a unique dataset. These strengths comprise the representation of a large sample of union members collected at one point during a mobilization campaign conducted by a major union. The findings also provide the basis for further research and allow us to make informed recommendations. First, the thorough testing of Kelly's mobilization process requires the collection of data at different points in time so a chronological causal sequence can be examined. Following Klandermans (1984), longitudinal data should be analysed. Multi-level analysis is required to examine change in workplace membership as an outcome of collectivism. Second, we need more studies about transformational union leaders. Intrinsic qualities need to be empirically identified. The methods and outcomes of the recruitment and training of such leaders should be carried out. Mobilization campaigns prompted by grass-roots insurgency are likely to create a fertile climate for the emergence of transformational leaders from the existing membership, and we recommend further research in this important area.

Finally, our primary data was collected for the purpose of conducting a rigorous quantitative analysis of an important aspect of the organizing process. The results lend strong support to Kelly's (1998) non-calculative, group-based approach to trade union mobilization. They demonstrate the importance of the work-group as a source of the development of collective instincts. Recent evidence shows that early commitment to the union predicts long-term union participation (Fullagar *et al.* 2004), so these are important findings at a time when the union movement struggles to survive.

Final version accepted on 16 January 2009.

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to acknowledge the valuable suggestions made by Carol Kulik and the assistance of the Victorian branch of the Australian Nursing Federation.

References

- ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) (2009). 'Courses for union educators'. Retrieved 15 January 2009. Available at: <http://www.actu.asn.au/unioneducation/Courses/UnionEducators/default.aspx>
- AFL-CIO (2009). 'OI training programs'. Retrieved 15 January 2009. Available at: <http://www.aflcio/aboutus/oi/training.cfm>.
- Alreck, P. L. and Settle, R. P. (1995). *The Survey Research Handbook*. New York: Irwin.
- ANF (Australian Nursing Federation (Federal Office)) (2005). 'Annual Report, 2004-2005'. Retrieved 22 November 2007, Available at: http://www.anf.org.au/anf_pdf/shared_reports/annual_report_2005.pdf.

- ANF (Vic) (Australian Nursing Federation (Victorian Branch)) (2005). 'Nurses stand to lose key rights'. 1 July website. Retrieved 11 February 2008, Available at: <http://www.anfvic.asn.au/campaigns/news/2518.html>.
- Avolio, B., Sosik, J., Juno, D. and Berson, Y. (2003). 'Leadership models, methods and applications'. In I. Weiner (ed.), *The Handbook of Psychology*, 3rd edn. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, pp. 277–308.
- , Zhu, W., Koh, W. and Bhatia, P. (2004). 'Transformational leadership and organizational commitment: mediating role of psychological empowerment and moderating role of structural distance'. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25: 951–68.
- Badigannavar, V. and Kelly, J. (2005). 'Why are some union organizing campaigns more successful than others?' *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 43: 515–35.
- Barling, J., Weber, T. and Kelloway, K. (1996). 'Effects of transformational training on attitudinal and financial outcomes: a field experiment'. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81: 827–32.
- Baron, R. and Kenny, D. (1986). 'The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: conceptual, strategic, and statistical consideration'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51: 1173–82.
- Bartram, T., Stanton, P. and Elovarris, L. (2008). 'The role of job representatives in an organising strategy: the case of the Australian Nursing Federation'. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 50: 25–44.
- Bass, B. M. (1999). 'Two decades of research and development in transformational leadership'. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 8: 9–32.
- and Avolio, B. J. (1993). 'Transformational leadership and organizational culture'. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 17: 112–21.
- and — (1995). *MLQ: Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire 5(x)*. Redwood City, CA: Mind Garden.
- and Riggio, R. E. (2006). *Transformational Leadership*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- and Stogdill, R. M. (1990). *Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*, 3rd edn. New York: Free Press.
- Blader, S. L. (2007). 'What leads organizational members to collectivize? Injustice and identification as precursors of union certification'. *Organization Science*, 18: 108–26.
- Booth, A. L. (1985). 'The free rider problem and a social custom of trade union membership'. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 100: 253–61.
- Bronfenbrenner, K. and Juravich, T. (1998). 'It takes more than house calls: organizing to win with a comprehensive union building strategy'. In K. Bronfenbrenner, S. Friedman, R. W. Hurd, R. A. Oswald and R. L. Seeber (eds.), *Organizing to Win*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 19–36.
- Buchanan, J., Bretherton, T., Bearfield, T. and Jackson, S. (2004). *Stable but Critical: The Working Conditions of Victorian Public Sector Nurses*. Sydney: ACIRRT.
- Burns, J. M. (1978). *Leadership*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Carter, B. (2000). 'Adoption of the organising model in British trade unions: some evidence from manufacturing, science and finance'. *Work, Employment and Society*, 14: 117–36.
- and Cooper, R. (2002). 'The organising model and the management of change: a comparative study of unions in Australia and Britain'. *Relations Industrielles*, 57: 712–44.

- Charlwood, A. (2002). 'Why do non-union employees want to unionise? Evidence from Britain'. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 40: 463–91.
- (2004). 'The new generation of trade union leaders and prospects for union revitalisation'. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 42: 379–97.
- Conger, J. A., Kanungo, R. N. and Menon, S. T. (2000). 'Charismatic leadership and follower effects'. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 21: 747–67.
- Cregan, C. (1999). *Young People in the Workplace: Job, Union and Mobility Patterns*. London: Mansell.
- (2005). 'Can organizing work? An inductive analysis of individual attitudes toward union membership'. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 58: 282–304.
- and Johnston, S. (1990). 'An industrial relations approach to the free rider problem: young people and trade union membership in the UK'. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 28: 84–104.
- Ellemers, N., de Gilder, D. and Haslam, S. A. (2004). 'Motivating individuals and groups at work: a social identity perspective on leadership and group performance'. *Academy of Management Review*, 29: 459–78.
- Erickson, C. L., Fisk, C. L., Milkman, R., Mitchell, D. J. B. and Wong, K. (2002). 'Justice for Janitors in Los Angeles: lessons from three rounds of negotiations'. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 40: 543–76.
- Feinberg, B. J., Ostroff, C. and Warner Burke, W. (2005). 'The role of within-group agreement in understanding transformational leadership'. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 78: 471–88.
- Fletcher, B. and Hurd, R. (1998). 'Beyond the organising model: the transformation process in local unions'. In K. Bronfenbrenner, S. Friedman, R. W. Hurd, R. A. Oswald and R. L. Seeber (eds.), *Organizing to Win*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 37–53.
- Flood, P., Turner, T. and Willman, P. (1996). 'Union presence, union service and membership participation'. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 34: 415–31.
- Fox, C. (1991). *Enough is Enough: The 1986 Victorian Nurses Strike*. Sydney: University of New South Wales.
- Fullagar, C. J. and Barling, J. (1989). 'A longitudinal test of a model of the antecedents and consequences of union loyalty'. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 74: 213–27.
- , McCoy, D. and Shull, C. (1992). 'The socialization of union loyalty'. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 13: 13–26.
- , Clark, P., Gallagher, D. and Gordon, M. E. (1994). 'A model of the antecedents of early union commitment: the role of socialization experiences and steward characteristics'. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 15: 517–33.
- , Gallagher, D., Clark, P. and Carrol, A. (2004). 'Union commitment and participation: a 10-year longitudinal study'. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89: 730–7.
- Gallagher, D. G. and Strauss, G. (1991). 'Union membership, attitudes and participation'. In G. Strauss, D. G. Gallagher and J. Fiorito (eds.), *The State of the Unions*. Madison, WI: Industrial Relations Research Association, pp. 139–74.
- Gordon, M. E., Philpot, J. W., Burt, R. E., Thompson, C. A. and Spiller, W. E. (1980). 'Commitment to the union: development of a measure and an examination of its correlates'. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 65: 474–99.
- Gordon, S., Buchanan, J. and Bretherton, T. (2008). *Safety in Numbers: Nurse-staffing Ratios and the Future of Healthcare*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- Grabelsky, J. and Hurd, R. W. (1994). 'Re-Inventing an Organizing Union: Strategies for Change'. Proceedings of the 46th Annual Meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association, Madison, Wisconsin, pp. 95–104.
- Hair, J., Anderson, R., Tatham, R. and Black, W. (1998). *Multivariate Data Analysis*, 5th edn. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Hall, R. H. (1967). 'Some organizational considerations in professionalism-organizational conflict'. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 12: 461–78.
- Heery, E. and Adler, L. (2004). 'Organizing the unorganized'. In C. Frege and J. Kelly (eds.), *Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Global Rising Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 45–69.
- Hinkle, S., Taylor, L. A., Fox-Cardamone, L. D. and Crooke, K. E. (1989). 'Intra-group identification and inter-group differentiation: a multi-component approach'. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 28: 305–17.
- Iverson, R. D. and Buttigieg, D. M. (1997). 'Antecedents of union commitment: the impact of union membership differences in vertical dyads and work group relationships'. *Human Relations*, 50: 1485–510.
- and Kuruvilla, S. (1995). 'Antecedents of union loyalty: the influence of individual dispositions and organizational context'. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 16: 557–82.
- Kelloway, E. K. and Barling, J. (1993). 'Members' participation in local union activities: measurement, prediction and replication'. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78: 262–79.
- Kelly, C. and Kelly, J. (1994). 'Who gets involved in collective action? Social psychological determinants of individual participation in trade unions'. *Human Relations*, 47: 63–88.
- Kelly, J. (1998). *Rethinking Industrial Relations: Mobilisation, Collectivism and Long Waves*. London: Routledge.
- Klandermans, B. (1984). 'Mobilization and participation: social psychology explanations of resource mobilization theory'. *American Sociological Review*, 49: 583–600.
- (1986). 'Psychology and trade union participation: joining, acting and quitting'. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 59: 189–204.
- (1997). *The Psychology of Protest*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Knoke, D. (1990). *Organizing for Collective Action: The Political Economies of Associations*. New York: Sage.
- Kuruvilla, S. and Fiorito, J. (1984). 'Who will help? Willingness to work for the union'. *Relations Industrielles*, 49: 548–75.
- McAdam, D. (1996). 'Conceptual origins, current problems, future directions'. In D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy and M. N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 23–40.
- McCoppin, B. and Gardner, H. (1994). *Tradition and Reality: Nursing and Politics in Australia*. Melbourne: Churchill Livingstone.
- Metocchi, M. (2002). 'The influence of leadership and member attitudes in understanding the nature of union participation'. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 40: 87–111.
- O'Connor, T. (2006). 'Do nurse/patient ratios work?' *Nursing New Zealand*, 12: 2–4.
- Shamir, B., House, R. J. and Arthur, M. B. (1993). 'The motivational effects of charismatic leadership: a self-concept based theory'. *Organization Science*, 4: 557–95.

- Sharpe, T. (2004). 'Union democracy and successful campaigns: the dynamics of staff authority and worker participation in an organizing union'. In R. Milkman and K. Voss (eds.), *Rebuilding Labor: Organizing and Organizers in the New Union Movement*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 62–87.
- Skarlicki, D. P. and Latham, G. P. (1996). 'Increasing citizenship behavior in a labor union'. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81: 161–9.
- Snape, E. and Redman, T. (2004). 'Exchange or covenant: the nature of the member-union relationship'. *Industrial Relations*, 43: 855–73.
- Sobel, M. E. (1982). 'Asymptotic intervals for indirect effects in structural equation models'. In S. Leinhardt (ed.), *Sociological Methodology*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 290–312.
- Stanton, P. (2002). 'Changing Employment Relationships in Victorian Public Hospitals: The Kennett Years, 1992–1999'. Unpublished PhD, La Trobe University School of Public Health.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). 'Social identity and intergroup relations'. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 33: 1–39.
- and Turner, J. C. (1986). 'The social identity theory of inter-group behavior'. In S. Worchell and L. W. Austin (eds.), *Psychology of Inter-Group Relations*. Chicago: Nelson Hall.
- Tarrow, S. (1991). *Struggle, Politics and Reform: Collective Action, Social Movements and Cycles of Protest*. Ithaca, NY: Center for International Studies, Cornell University.
- Tilly, C. (1978). *From Mobilisation to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and Collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- TUC (Trade Union Congress) (2009). 'Organising and recruitment'. Retrieved 10 January 2009. Available at: <http://www.tuc.org.uk/organisation/>.
- Twigg, N. W., Fuller, J. B. and Hester, K. (2008). 'Transformational leadership in labor organizations: the effect on union citizenship behaviors'. *Journal of Labor Research*, 29: 27–41.
- Van Vugt, M. and Hart, C. M. (2004). 'Social identity as social glue: the origins of group loyalty'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86: 585–98.
- Voss, K. and Sherman, R. (2000). 'Breaking the iron law of oligarchy: union revitalization in the American labor movement'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106: 303–49.
- Weber, M. (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: Free Press.

Appendix

TABLE A1
Factor Analysis: Collectivism, Social Identity and Transformational Leadership

<i>Item</i>	<i>Rotated component matrix</i>				<i>Component</i>	<i>Eigenvalue</i>	<i>% of variance</i>
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>			
L1	0.749	0.185	0.158	0.138	1	6.584	32.920
L2	0.846	0.060	0.134	0.109	2	2.843	14.214
L3	0.787	0.190	0.216	0.143	3	1.588	7.940
L4	0.762	0.002	0.131	0.182	4	1.537	7.685
L5	0.830	0.058	0.163	0.079	5	0.824	4.188
L6	0.460	0.231	0.265	0.056	6	0.749	3.743
WW1	0.023	0.888	0.060	0.023	7	0.626	3.312
WW2	0.020	0.901	0.061	0.020	8	0.613	3.064
WW3	0.100	0.524	0.269	0.100	9	0.579	2.894
SI1	0.318	0.114	0.691	0.203	10	0.517	2.584
SI2	0.133	0.129	0.767	0.145	11	0.495	2.473
SI3	0.151	0.038	0.722	0.106	12	0.465	2.324
SI4	0.254	0.063	0.663	0.025	13	0.434	2.171
SI5	0.064	0.020	0.599	0.388	14	0.423	2.113
TL1	0.063	0.016	0.117	0.780	15	0.364	1.818
TL2	0.080	0.001	0.142	0.839	16	0.330	1.650
TL3	0.152	0.008	0.145	0.762	17	0.298	1.492
TL4	0.094	0.060	0.037	0.681	18	0.266	1.330
TL5	0.108	0.029	0.201	0.774	19	0.238	1.189
TL6	0.166	0.058	0.095	0.784	20	0.229	1.147

L1–6, loyalty items (1)–(6); WW1–3, willingness to work items (1)–(3); SI1–5, social identity items (1)–(5); TL1–6, transformational leadership items (1)–(6).

TABLE A2
Control Variables

1. Sex	Dichotomous	1 = female; 0 = male
2. Age	Continuous	—
3. Public sector	Dichotomous	1 = public, 0 = private
4. Part time	Dichotomous	1 = part time, 0 = full time
5. Professionalism	Continuous (means)	—

Notes: There were seven questions (1 = strongly disagree . . . 5 = strongly agree). The items loaded on a single factor ($\alpha = 0.72$).

'People in this profession have a real "calling" for their work'.

'I enjoy exchanging ideas with colleagues'.

'The dedication of people in this field is most gratifying'.

'Professional training/development itself helps assure that people maintain their high ideals'.

'The most stimulating periods are those spent with colleagues'.

'It is encouraging to see the high level of idealism which is maintained by the people in this field'.

'More occupations should strive to make a real contribution to society the way that nursing does'.

Source: Hall 1967.

6. Voting behaviour in last election	Dichotomous	Labour = 1; otherwise = 0
7. Number of years ANF member	Continuous	—
8. Perception of union efficacy	Continuous (means)	—

Notes: We captured the extent to which the member perceived that the union had 'delivered' his/her goals by asking their level of agreement with each explanation for their decision to *remain* a member of the ANF. We included a list of explanations put forward by Australian unionists in a recent study. The 12 items loaded on two factors that represented private goals and collective goals. Every item loaded on the factor that represented the category of goal with which it was statistically associated in the Australian study.

Five items related to private goals ($\alpha = 0.80$) (1 = strongly disagree . . . 5 = strongly agree): 'advice and information', 'free legal advice', 'professional advice and services', 'industrial advice and services', 'professional indemnity insurance'.

Seven items related to collective goals ($\alpha = 0.91$) (1 = strongly disagree . . . 5 = strongly agree): 'to gain support if I had a problem at work', 'to protect jobs', 'to give support to the ANF', 'to receive improved pay and conditions', 'to prevent the exploitation of nurses by the employer', 'for collective bargaining/voice', and 'to gain strength in numbers'.

Source: Cregan 2005.

ANF, Australian Federation of Nurses.