

2013

Chinese Workers' Attitudes toward Strike

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Chinese workers' attitudes toward strikes

by

Zhenxing Ke

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Sociology

Program of Study Committee:
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2013

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NOMENCLATURE

CGSS China General Social Survey

SOE State-owned Enterprise

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. Besser, and my committee members, Dr. Jones-Johnson and Dr. Yu, for their guidance and support throughout the course of this research.

In addition, I would also like to thank my friends, colleagues, the department faculty and staff for making my time at Iowa State University a wonderful experience. I want to also offer my appreciation to those who were willing to participate in my surveys and observations, without whom, this thesis would not have been possible.

Finally, thanks to my family for their encouragement and to my wife for her hours of patience, respect and love.

ABSTRACT

In recent years, the frequency of strikes has increased in China, which makes it important to analyze what influences workers' attitude about going on strike. Based on a review of the literature, the extrinsic reward (income satisfaction and old age insurance), intrinsic rewards (employee autonomy and participation) and control variable (gender, age, education, migrant and ownership) will be examined using data from the China General Social Survey 2006. All workers in survey are divided into three groups: professional, nonprofessional, and manufacturing workers. For each group, the effect of independent variables and control variables on workers' attitudes toward strikes is tested. For the professional and nonprofessional group, employee participation has a negative association with workers' attitudes toward strikes, while job autonomy has a positive association in the manufacturing worker group. For all groups, income satisfaction has a negative relationship with attitudes toward strikes. For nonprofessional, the gender has a positive relationship to the attitudes toward strikes, and meanwhile, in manufacturing workers, migrant workers and private company have negative associations with attitudes toward strikes.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, certain groups of Chinese workers have staged strikes. For example, in 2011, there was a strike by 1,900 workers at the Honda factory in south China. In 2012, thousands of Foxconn workers participated in a strike to protest working conditions related to production of the iPhone 5. These strikes brought harm to the factories and workers: The factories' production capacity was greatly diminished, and workers faced the risk of being fired. Based on the number of striking workers and the potential outcomes of striking, this growing phenomenon has attracted the attention of scholars, who are interested in studying Chinese workers' attitudes toward strikes.

Prior studies that examined the propensity of U.S. workers to strike have identified several likely predictors, including job satisfaction (Alutto & Belasco, 1974; Feng, 2006), unionization (Snyder, 1975), networking among workers (Dixon, 2003; Roscigno, 2001), and gender and age (Alutto & Belasco, 1984; Cox, 1978; Fox & Wince, 1976). These predictors, however, may not apply to Chinese workers' propensity to strike. In China, because unions are organized by the companies and not by the workers, unions are unlikely to play a role in strikes. Further, they are funded by management and are expected to represent management's interests instead of those of workers; as such, workers are not likely to trust unions (Chen 2003).

Further, in addition to social networks that consist of coworkers and friends, Chinese workers have another type of network, the *native-place association*, organized through workers' hometown family and friends, that can provide help (Choi, 2008). Li (2009) used logistic regression to analyze the relationships between networks and the propensity to strike. He found that workers who were members of native-place associations were more willing to participate in collective action to protect their interests than were migrant workers who were not members of

such associations. Li also studied demographic factors and found, as did Liu (2011), that age has a negative relationship with attitudes toward strikes.

Job satisfaction, an important variable in this study which means to what extent the worker is content with his or her job, is influenced by both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. Intrinsic rewards, which are experienced as self-fulfillment, are believed to be related to psychological growth and maturity (Andrisani, 1977). Such rewards include autonomy, creativity, sense of accomplishment, recognition, responsibility, and advancement potential. Extrinsic rewards, in contrast, focus on the instrumental aspects of jobs, such as income, security, reasonable work hours, good physical working conditions, and satisfying interpersonal relationships (Andrisani, 1977). In this sense, the job is appreciated because it is a means to meet survival or sociability goals. The relationship between strikes and extrinsic rewards has been extensively researched in China. Some studies have suggested that there is a negative relationship between income and willingness to strike (Chan, C. K., 2011; Chan, C. K., 2009; Feng, 2006; Li, 2009; Liu, 2011). Nevertheless, research on the relationship between willingness to strike and intrinsic rewards is limited. Some studies have cited only strict control by management as a reason to strike (Chan, 2011; Lee, 1999). Thus, the present study attempts to address this gap in the literature by investigating the relationship between intrinsic rewards and attitudes toward strikes.

In the present study, job autonomy and employee participation have been selected as intrinsic rewards. Job autonomy is the level of worker control over task organization (Hodson, 1993). Employee participation can be described as the attending of regular meetings by which workers have an impact on decisions that affect their job. Compared to the job autonomy, the concept of participation emphasizes the negotiation between management and workers. Research

in the United States has demonstrated that job autonomy and employee participation are negatively associated with workers' attitudes toward strikes (Roscigno, 2004). Corresponding research on this relationship among Chinese workers is lacking, however. Because China is a socialist country, the workplace is intended to be organized to make each worker feel that he or she provides an important contribution to the workplace (Walder, 1983). Due to the differences between American and Chinese workplaces, and the lack of corresponding research on Chinese workers, this study also will determine the effects of extrinsic rewards (such as income satisfaction). Because demographic factors (gender, age, education, migrant identity and ownership) may have an effect on attitudes toward strikes, they will be treated as control variables.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: Chapter 2, the review of the literature, contains a brief overview of the Chinese economy and a more comprehensive review of labor process theory as related to attitudes toward strikes. Chapter 3 presents the methodology, Chapter 4 provides the results of the statistical analysis, and Chapter 5 provides a discussion, followed by conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Brief History of the Chinese Socialist Economy

To contribute to our understanding of worker unrest in China, an introduction to the current situation of unrest with respect to both the economy and business, will be presented. In China, businesses are categorized as (1) state-owned enterprises (SOEs), (2) private companies, or (3) foreign-funded companies. Before the reform and open-door policy of 1979, SOEs were the only type of company in China. The labor management system was characterized by (1) lifetime employment, (2) an extensive extrinsic reward system, and (3) administrative cadres. In terms of lifetime employment, workers were assigned to a factory after high school graduation and had no rights of labor mobility. The factory guaranteed lifelong employment; thus, unless workers violated the law or damaged the factory, they never lost their jobs. In the reward system, the central government set general wage policies and determined wages in SOEs.

As part of a social welfare state, factories provided employees with a wide range of rewards not readily available through market channels (e.g., factory housing tended to be newer and in better condition than generally available housing). Workers were completely dependent on the company for wages as well as for benefits, subsidies, and housing (Gallagher, 2007). In SOEs, managers were regarded as members of “administrative cadres” and their appointments and promotions were determined by the state. Managers usually had two sets of responsibilities: overseeing factory operations and implementing state and party policies.

Under this labor management system, with its lifelong employment and fixed salaries, workers had no incentive to produce more goods; consequently, their productivity was low (Ding & Warner, 2001). As a result, the state implemented reforms designed to increase productivity in 1979. First, the lifelong employment and fixed salary policies were abolished. Both the state-

owned factory and the workers signed labor contracts that specified tasks, salaries, working hours, and so forth. The role of an SOE as a production unit under the government's control subsequently changed to that of an independent legal entity responsible for its own profits and losses (Gallagher, 2007). This allowed the manager to focus only on how to increase productivity. If the manager did not operate the factory well, a more knowledgeable, competent, professional employee would replace the manager.

The reform provided managers and workers with an incentive to work hard. If more goods were produced and sold, the workers could earn more money, and the manager could receive a promotion. However, the reform led to some negative outcomes as well. To ensure greater profits, some factories imposed coercive modes of labor control by lengthening work hours, raising quotas, and controlling labor attendance. In one interview, a female worker stated, "Sometimes we come to the shop floor at 7:30 a.m. and do preparatory work until 11:00 a.m. We don't get paid if there is no output" (Lee, 1999).

After the 1979 reform, private and foreign-funded enterprises began to emerge in the market. Their goal was to achieve great productivity and, hence, profit; thus, they used strict controls in the workshop. For instance, the Foxconn strike occurred in response to management's overly strict demands on product quality without providing worker training in the relevant skills. This led to workers turning out products that did not meet Foxconn's standards, which ultimately increased the pressure on workers. Based on this labor situation in China, I intend to examine the factors that underlie workplace conditions and the resulting (dis)satisfaction. Job satisfaction and labor process theories can be helpful in this regard as it provides insights into the relationship between workplace conditions and attitudes toward strikes.

2.2 Theoretical background

2.2.1 Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is typically defined as “a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one’s job or job experience” (Johnson et al., 2007). The concept of job satisfaction has been of great interest to social scientists in accounting for the variation in workers’ job satisfaction. After they find the determinant of job satisfaction of workers, managers can use diverse ways to improve employees’ productivity and quality of work experiences.

Job satisfaction theory is appropriate for the current research as scholars have found a positive relationship between job satisfaction and attitudes toward strikes. Alutto and Belasco (1974) found career dissatisfaction ranked as a major contributor to the emergence of attitudinal militancy. Feng (2006) used the China General Social Survey 2003¹ to demonstrate that, in China, a decrease of one level in job satisfaction (on a five point Likert scale) decreased one results in a corresponding increase in the rate for supporting a strike by 19%.

Maslow’s theory proposes that job satisfactions related to how the job helps an employee meet various human needs: (1) physiological needs, (2) safety needs, (3) affiliation needs, (4) achievement and esteem needs, and (5) self-actualization (Maslow 1954). Maslow asserted that higher needs increase as lower needs become satisfied and decrease. Using Maslow’s theory, Herzberg (1968) divided the two kinds of human needs into those stemming from humans’ animal nature. For example, hunger will make workers focus on earning money. The other set of needs is related to a unique human characteristic: the ability to achieve. Through achievement and recognition for achievement, humans can experience psychological growth (Kalleberg,

¹ This is discussed further in the methodology section.

1977). McGregor gave another perspective to workers' satisfaction from managers' perspective. He called these managerial philosophies theory "Y" and theory X. Theory X proposes that the average human has an inherent dislike of work. Because of this human characteristic of disliking work, most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, or threatened with punishment to get them to put forth an adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives. However, if the manager accepts the assumption of theory "Y," he/she holds that external control and the threat of punishment are not the only means to bring about efforts toward organizational objectives. People will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which they are committed. Therefore, workers in organizations managed with the theory Y philosophy should also experience greater job satisfaction.

2.2.2 Labor Process Theory

Labor process theory was developed to explain how organizations attempt to maximize surplus value in advanced capitalistic economies. (Surplus value is the value created by workers that is in excess of their wages and benefits and then is appropriated in the capitalist system). The labor process theory is related to job satisfaction because, according to the theory, managers want to increase workers' job satisfaction to improve their work enthusiasm so that they will contribute more surplus value. Two of the most important contributions to labor process theory come from Edwards (1979) and Burawoy (1982). Edwards analyzed the various ways in which employees have been controlled in organizations at different stages of capitalistic development. He distinguished three types of control of the labor process: simple, technical, and bureaucratic. In simple control, the managerial skills of the owner or supervisor and the personal relationships among owners, direct supervisors, and workers provide the mechanisms for directing and controlling the labor process. Under this model, owners—or, later, foremen or managers—

exercise power, personally hire and fire workers, reward good performance, and punish bad performance. The boss is always powerful no matter how many employees there are. In these early companies, there might be employee guilds for highly skilled employees, but no unions per se. These guilds acted like unions, but only protected the most skilled workers from the absolute power of the owner. This model was used in all organizations prior to the 20th century and still exists today in small organizations. With the growth of the number of employees in organization, simple control became increasingly less efficient because owners and their hired managers must control a large mass of workers while still maintaining productivity and ensuring worker cooperation.

The solution to the problems with simple control for large companies is technical or technological control, which indicates that controls are built into the technical structure of production (Edwards, 1979). The mechanization of a factory provides technical control, giving workers a fixed procedure for how their job is to be performed and controlling the speed of their work. Traditionally, under this type of control, for a number of reasons, unions have developed quickly. Jobs became boring and meaningless for workers because, by following machine procedures, they had no autonomy. As the vast majority of workers did similar jobs requiring similar minimums, a more homogeneous class of workers developed; these workers had similar grievances and were more likely to unite to strike. The tight coupling of the assembly line process also provided a small number of dedicated workers with the power to completely stop production. When the activists of a strike stopped the assembly line, production was crippled. In addition, other workers who could not work in the factory also had an opportunity to participate in the strike, thereby increasing the power of the strike.

To overcome this consequence of technical control, bureaucratic control was developed. Used first for management and white-collar employees, it was extended to production workers. Whereas technical control is embedded in the physical and technological aspects of production and built into the design of machines, bureaucratic control is embedded in the social and organizational structures of the firm. It is built into job categories, work rules, promotion procedures, discipline, wage scales, definitions of responsibilities, and so on. Specifically, companies move from a reliance on negative sanctions and penalties toward positive incentives, such as higher pay, promotions, more responsibilities, and access to better, cleaner, or less dangerous working conditions for workers who provide the most surplus labor. For example, Polaroid offered valuable rewards to high-performing employees, including good pay, job security, generous benefits, and promotion opportunities. Loyal, high-performing workers were encouraged to remain employed for long periods, which provided the basis for long-term identification with the company.

For a time, bureaucratic control appeared to have resolved the problems of other types of control because, in this system, workers took pains in their work for their own self-interest (Edwards, 1979). Bureaucratic control has predominated in large organizations, although competition from companies that use outsourcing to obtain surplus labor without the expense of benefits furnished in bureaucratically managed organizations has lessened the prevalence of bureaucratic control, except in monopolistic industries and government.

Burawoy (1982), another important scholar of the labor process theory, classified the workplace into two types: despotic regime and hegemonic regime. In a despotic regime, workers are tied into a subsistence existence (through their basic salary) by employers who implement coercive direct measures to manage employees. This is similar to Edwards' simple control. As

the size of these factories increase, this management model is no longer a good fit because the owner/manager is rarely able to manage workers directly. Thus, the organization moves to a hegemonic regime, which includes various concessions, such as a significant investment in employees (higher wages and benefits) and shop-floor autonomy, thereby enabling workers to operate outside official procedures. A hegemonic regime describes a particular management style and structure of organizations that evolved to address the problem of a despotic regime.

Burawoy's (1982) view of the transformation of the workplace is similar to that of Edwards' theory. The despotic regime corresponds to simple control, and the hegemonic regime is similar to bureaucratic control. However, Edwards' (1979) description of the transformation of the workplace focuses on the managerial level whereas Burawoy's emphasizes the worker level. Edwards' research is an object description of a different kind of control. Burawoy not only describes different regimes, but also mentions workers' feelings (consent) toward the regime.

The labor process theory is also a good reference point for Chinese scholars of labor process. Lee (1998) used the term *despotism* to denote three aspects of labor relations: (1) labor's institutional dependence on production work for livelihood, (2) the imposition of coercive modes of labor control, and (3) workers' collective apprehension toward such control as violations of their material interests and moral precepts. Some studies do not use labor process theory directly; rather, they present it in their literature review (Zhang, 2008a; Zhang, 2008b).

2.3 Variables

2.3.1 Job autonomy

As indicated in job satisfaction and labor process theories, autonomy is important and is either encouraged (in bureaucratic control) or discouraged (in technological control) by managers. The purpose of this section is to present how autonomy and attitudes toward strikes

might be related. According to Roscigno and Hodson (2003), a bureaucratic² organization involves the operational control of daily procedures that reside in written rules. Generally speaking, if the level of bureaucracy is high, employee job autonomy is low. The authors found that disagreement between workers and management, in conjunction with a union presence and bureaucracy, appears to increase the likelihood of a strike action more than six-fold. Therefore, we can infer that, if the organization has a lower bureaucracy level and higher job autonomy, the likelihood of a strike might be less. We can also infer that an indirect negative relationship exists between job autonomy and attitudes toward strikes through intermediary factors. Although Yoon and Thye (2002) predicted that, among a group of high school teachers, job autonomy, variety, workload, and pay would increase satisfaction, they found that only autonomy and variety were related to satisfaction. Meikins and Watson (1989) classified autonomy as technical or substantial. Technical autonomy concerns the technical plan of production as well as the ability to control the process, rhythm, and pace of work. Substantial autonomy refers to control over the choice of work assignment, the disposition of the product of one's work, or the social policy of the employing organization. Both forms of autonomy were found to be related to job satisfaction. Substantive autonomy is a very strong predictor of job satisfaction, while technical autonomy is less so. As management efforts to increase job satisfaction can decrease strike-related militant behavior, it appears that job autonomy can reduce the attitudes toward strikes.

Hodson et al. (1994), using data derived from a telephone survey of 371 employed adults living in a Midwestern state, performed a regression analysis between union solidarity and autonomy. The authors found that increased worker autonomy does not decrease solidarity and has only a limited effect on attenuating a sense of injustice at the workplace.

² This bureaucracy is different from Edwards' (1979) concept of "bureaucratic control." This bureaucracy is a kind of form of organization, not a kind of control between management and workers.

2.3.2 Participation

Participation has been identified as an intrinsic reward that increases job satisfaction. Hodson (2001) identified four types of worker participation in organizations: (1) team-based system, (2) formal consultation, (3) joint union-management program, and (4) worker ownership. A team-based system is characterized by a significant degree of self-management by a work group and has become increasingly prominent in large, contemporary organizations. Japanese companies and their affiliates have led the way in the increasing use of the team-based production system, in which workers participate in problem-solving activities. Formal consultation involves regular meetings between management and employees or employees' representatives to discuss various aspects of work. Formal consultation can occur in either a union or a nonunion setting. The joint union-management program is based on explicitly collective negotiated agreements between the union and management. Finally, in worker ownership, employees have ultimate control over the organization's activities and the disposition of its assets.

Similar to research on job autonomy, research on the relationship between participation and attitudes toward strikes is almost nonexistent. Alluto (1974) found that some job features, such as participation in decision making, salary, and other conditions of professional³ practice, are likely to have a major influence on the level of attitudinal militancy that might surface in organizations. Hodson's research focuses on the relationship between participation and job satisfaction or union solidarity, so we can infer a relationship between participation and attitudes toward strikes through the effect of job satisfaction and union solidarity. For example, teachers who have little influence in decision making, perceive the promotion system as flawed, and have supervisors who exhibit few positive supervisory behaviors are likely to experience conflicting

³ Here, professional refers to a certain occupational group of workers.

job expectations and dissatisfaction with their supervisors. In turn, these factors might lead teachers to become militant with respect to issues of workplace control (Bacharach, et.al. 1990). Contrary to what one might expect, Hodson (1994) determined that participation actually increases unions' solidarity and unity rather than undermining them. Solidarity is a decisive factor for a successful strike; thus, if this conclusion is pushed further, one would expect that participation will have a positive impact on the attitudes toward strikes.

Different occupations have different degrees of autonomy and participation. For example, autonomy is particularly characteristic of professional and craft jobs. Workers in those occupations might be self-selected due to their desire for the daily exercise of autonomy in relation to tools, techniques, and work priorities (Hodson, 2001). However, for manufacturing workers, standardized procedures are necessary, and those at a higher rank usually control the workers' activities (Cox, 1978). Although they might have lower expectations of participation and autonomy in their jobs than professional and craft workers, their job features might still be important to them. Manufacturing workers refer to those who work in a particular industry, not an occupational group, and include highly skilled craft workers, janitors, and assembly line workers. Thus, the potential conflating influence of occupation on the relationship between participation and autonomy and willingness to strike leads me to control for workers' occupation in the subsequent analysis.

2.3.3 Extrinsic rewards

The relationship between most extrinsic rewards and attitudes toward strikes can be supported by prior research. Therefore, if people believe their income is strongly unfair, they are more likely to participate in a strike. Paldam and Pederson (1974) found that conflicts might be generated by tensions between individuals' actual positions in the wage structure and their

desired positions, conceptions of justice and reason, and so forth. However, the inference that satisfaction with extrinsic rewards lessens support for strikes is not absolute. Brett and Goldberg (1979) hypothesized that low-strike mines have better working conditions than high-strike mines, but their results did not support this claim. Thus, how extrinsic rewards, such as income, pension, overtime pay, and work environment relate to willingness to strike requires testing as well.

2.4 Control variables

2.4.1 Gender

Some demographic factors are also important because they can affect workers' attitudes toward strikes and confound the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic rewards and attitudes toward strikes. The relationship between gender and willingness to strike is complex. Fox and Wince (1976) found that males have a higher willingness to strike than females. One reason for this is that men tend to be more aggressive than women in the United States, as noted by Fox and Wince (1976) and Knight (1996). Thus, when workers have some conflict with the management, males are more likely to take some aggressive actions, such as striking. Another possible reason is that males might be more dissatisfied than females with the same job. Fox and Wince (1976) concluded that males were more likely to be dissatisfied with the income and prestige associated with teaching than were female teachers. A possible explanation—at least in 1976—is that more men than women are the principal source of support for spouses and children. A given income level is likely to seem less adequate to a male teacher than to a female teacher, and males thus might be more likely to strike if dissatisfied with the income provided by a job (Fox and Wince, 1976). However, both of these explanations verge on sexism. Fox and Wince might have gone without criticism for such a statement in 1976, but we should be critical of such a statement and avoid sexism.

Relative deprivation⁴ is an important reason for indirect effects of gender on attitudinal militancy (Dennenwerth & Cox, 1978). The concept of relative deprivation involves a comparison group: Women tend to compare themselves to other female employees and men to other male employees. Females, on average, earn lower incomes than males do. Thus, for a given level of income, males will often be more dissatisfied than females and, consequently, males tend to be more likely to support a strike.

In China, Li (2009) found that males have greater enthusiasm for striking than females do. He stated that the probability of participating in a strike is 1.4 times greater for a male than for a female. This might stem from the fact that in a traditional Chinese family, women are responsible for household management while men play a larger role in earning money. Thus, men are more likely to take collective action to protect their interests. However, Li's analysis might not be comprehensive. The fact that men have primary responsibility for supporting a family does not explain why they are more likely to strike. One could argue that, because the entire family is dependent on men, they cannot risk their income or job by engaging in militant behaviors. If women have lower financial responsibility to their families, they could have greater latitude to strike for more wages.

2.4.2 Age

Martin (1986) found that, in the United States, age had a strong negative relationship with willingness to strike; the situation is similar in China. Similar to beliefs related to gender, some scholars do not believe that the relationship is explicable in terms of any "natural" connection between age and militancy. The age–militancy relationship might be attributed to differences in

⁴ Relative deprivation involves the notion that a negative discrepancy between what one legitimately expects and what one has generates discontent only to the extent that there is a high perceived probability that the discrepancy will not be reduced (Morrison, 1971). A person not only desires a given goal, but also feels that he or she has a right to obtain that goal and that he or she deserves it—at least under certain conditions.

social and economic conditions across generational groups (Fox & Wince, 1976). Relative deprivation can be an important factor that mediates the effects of age. The fact that younger teachers perceive more relative deprivation might result from their expectations when entering the profession. However, most old teachers began teaching when teaching was a low-paying occupation, so significant improvements in teaching salaries in recent years might cause these teachers to conclude they are considerably better off now than they had originally anticipated (Dennenwerth & Cox, 1978). Yet the labor market has changed since the 1970s, and it is important to note that the change in economics and values that have occurred in the last 40 years might have changed the relationships described in these studies.

2.4.3 Education

Education produces both private and public benefits. Private benefits include the ability to earn more money, enjoy a higher standard of living, and experience a better quality of life. More importantly, public benefits include enlightened citizenship, which is particularly important to a democratic form of government (Swanson & King, 1991). Schooling also fosters a consciousness that encourages people to struggle for their rights. Workers who are more educated are more likely to be aware of the laws that protect their rights. In this regard, Fox and Wince (1976) suggested that higher education might lead to a higher propensity to strike. In their research, they divided teachers into two categories, those with and without a master's degree, and found that militancy is positively associated with having a master's degree. However, for other occupations, education seems to have a negative influence on the likelihood of taking part in a strike (Schutt, 1982; Li, 2009). Li explain that people with higher education levels might have more cautious attitudes toward strikes, as they have the ability to calculate the strike's potential losses as well as its benefits.

2.4.4 Migrant Workers

In China, Hukou is a registration designation to distinguish people from the rural area and urban area. If a person was born in a rural area, he or she can only get a rural Hukou even when he or she grows up and works in the city later. That individual will always be categorized as a migrant worker. Therefore, migrant worker means workers who are rural persons with jobs in urban areas. Rural migrant workers cannot obtain the same welfare benefits, such as subsidized health care, retirement benefits, and subsidized food and housing, as the urban resident. As such, the rights of migrant workers are more likely to be violated, and I anticipate that they will consequently be more likely to support a strike.

2.4.5 Business Ownership

As previously noted, China has three types of businesses: state-owned enterprise (SOE),⁵ private companies,⁶ and foreign-funded enterprises.⁷ With respect to management, there is very little difference among the three types, but the SOE has a unique history that stems from the Chinese socialist economy. In a case study of SOEs, Lee (2002) found that, as a result of the new state discourse of legality and citizenship, some workers started to sue or even strike against SOEs to protect their interests. Nevertheless, some workers are still willing to sacrifice their individual interests for the sake of the enterprise (Lee, 2002). These workers' community of memories influences their thoughts, which often focus on the rhetoric and practices of Maoist socialism.

In contrast, it is believed that neither a private company nor a foreign-funded company is influenced much by the culture of Maoist socialism because these companies came into being after the reform and the open-door policy of 1979. It is, therefore, important to determine how

⁵ State-owned enterprise means the government invests in the company.

⁶ Private company means a private person invests in the company.

⁷ Foreign-funded enterprise means a person or company from a foreign country invests in the company.

the type of business ownership affects attitudes toward strikes. The kind of ownership is believed to have a significant impact on the relationship between job characteristics and willingness to strike. For this reason, it will be controlled in the subsequent analysis.

The literature leads me to infer the existence of a relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction and the willingness to strike. Specifically, I propose the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Workers with higher job autonomy have more negative attitudes toward strikes.

Hypothesis 2: Workers with higher participation have more negative attitudes toward strikes.

Hypothesis 3: Workers with higher income satisfaction have more negative attitudes toward strikes.

Hypothesis 4: Workers with old-age insurance have more negative attitudes toward strikes.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study utilizes secondary data analysis methodology. Data were taken from the Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS) of 2006. CGSS data were co-collected by the Division of Social Science of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Hong Kong, and the Department of Sociology, Renmin University, China. The CGSS contains data on various aspects of society in China, including the economy, politics, work, family, social networks, and culture. The purpose of the survey is to reveal the transformation of status, role, and sense of people as well as provide a description of the actual situation of social stratification, including its problems. Face-to-face interviews were conducted, using a standardized questionnaire format and the Mandarin Chinese language.

The sampling design for the CGSS was selected from units at four stages, including the district (county) as the primary sampling unit, the sub-district (township and town) as the secondary unit, the neighborhood (village) committee as the tertiary sampling unit, and the household as the quaternary unit. Overall, the CGSS data cover 28 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions (not including Qinghai, Xinjiang, and Tibet). There were 6,013 participants from urban areas and 4,138 participants from rural areas. The sample included 1,860 workers, excluding retired workers, unemployed, and individuals who were self-employed or who worked with or without pay in a family-owned business. Responses such as “I do not know” and “This question does not apply to me” were treated as missing values.

In this survey, all regions in China were divided into five strata (see Appendix 1). The first stratum consists of the urban areas of the three municipalities under the central government (Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai). The second stratum consists of the urban areas of Chongqing

and 26 provincial capital cities (Lhasa is excluded). The third, fourth, and fifth strata are designed for the eastern, middle, and western regions, respectively.

Researchers are advised to use sampling weights to correct for oversampling of urban (Li & Bian, 2012). The reason for the oversampling of urban is to generate enough cases for the examination of variations within cities, and respondents in a small household have a higher probability of being selected in the sample. (The weight equation for urban area is $w = \frac{N_h}{n_h}$. N_h is the population of urban area in China, and n_h is the number of sample of urban area in China. The weight equation for rural area is similar.)

3.2 Measurement

Based on the literature review, I test the effects of intrinsic reward variables, extrinsic reward variables, on workers' attitudes toward strikes controlling for demographic factors. Before conducting the analyses, I divided the workers into three groups: (1) non-professional white collar (professionals/technicians and related professionals), (2) professional white collar (office clerks/personal service, sales), and (3) manufacturing worker (craft and trade workers/other manufacturing laborers).⁸ These three groups have different characteristics and different requirements for job satisfaction, as discussed during the literature review. Control variables are not independent variables. Table 1 shows the operational definitions and coding of the variables used in these analyses.

⁸ In the CGSS, every worker has a code to identify the occupation. Codes from 1000 to 1999 are leader in the government and managers in the enterprise. Codes from 2000 to 2999 are professional workers. Codes from 3000 to 3999 are office clerks. Codes from 4000 to 4999 are personal service and sales. Codes from 5000 to 5999 are workers in agriculture and fishing. Codes from 6000 to 6999 are craft and trade workers/other manufacturing laborers. The rest are self-employed people.

Table 1. Operationalization of Variables

Variable	Operational Definition	Coding
Dependent		
Attitudes toward strikes	Do you agree that people should use strikes to protect their interest when they are endangered ?	Measured on a Likert scale form 1=strongly disagree to 4= strongly agree. Dummy coded as 0 = disagree (strongly disagree/disagree) 1 = agree (agree/strongly agree)
Control		
Gender		1 = male, 0 = female
Migrant	Rural migrants to jobs in urban area	1 = yes, 0 = no
Education	What's the highest education you have at present?	0 = less than middle school (never attended school formally, literacy class, or primary school) 1 = middle school, 2 = high school (vocational high school, high school, middle school level professional school, or technical school) 3 = university and above (specialized college ⁹ (part-time), specialized college (full-time), university (part-time), university (full-time), graduate school and above
State-owned enterprise		1 = yes, 0 = no
Private business		1 = yes, 0 = no
Foreign-funded business		1 = yes, 0 = no
Independent		
Basic old-age insurance	Does your company/factory provide you with basic old-age insurance?	1 = yes, 0 = no
Income satisfaction	Considering your work capacity and working situation, do you think your income is reasonable?"	1=strongly unreasonable to 4= strongly reasonable. Dummy coded as 0 = unreasonable (strongly disagree/disagree) 1 = reasonable (agree/strongly agree)

⁹ Similar to community college in the United States.

Table 1. (continued)

Variable Dependent	Operational Definition	Coding
Content autonomy	To what extent you can arrange your content of the work?	0 = all decided by others, 1 = partly by oneself, 2 = all by oneself
Scheduling autonomy	To what extent you can arrange your scheduling of the work	0 = all decided by others, 1 = partly by oneself, 2 = all by oneself
Quantity autonomy	To what extent you can arrange the quantity of the work?	0 = all decided by others, 1 = partly by oneself, 2 = all by oneself
Participation	When your supervisor requires a task, how does he or she usually command you?	0 = command you, 1 = command you but discuss with you, 2 = discuss with you

There are three questions about the worker autonomy. In order to replace a large number of variables with a smaller number which reflect most of the original data, I decided to combine three independent variables for autonomy into a single variable using principal component factor scaling. The reliability of the factor-scaled variables was determined by computing the Cronbach's alpha. Factor scale statistics and alpha scores of 0.50 or more were considered to be acceptable. As shown in Table 2, factor loadings ranged from .854 to .900, while the Cronbach's alpha was .850 for the factor-scaled variable.

Table 2. Factor Analysis of Autonomy

	Mean	S.D.	Factor score
Autonomy			
1. To what extent you can arrange your content of the work?	1.60	.71	.85
2. To what extent you can arrange the scheduling of the work?	1.72	.75	.90
3. To what extent you can arrange the quantity of the work?	1.62	.72	.88
<i>Cronbach's alpha = .850 Percent variance explained = 76.9</i>			

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

To provide a descriptive understanding of the independent and dependent variables, their means and standard deviations are presented in Table 3. These values were then used for an ANOVA to test if the results indicated a significant difference among the three groups in the table 4. I then computed zero-order correlations among the variables. The results are provided in Table 5, 6 and 7. Finally, the hypotheses were tested using logistic regression. Tables 8, 9, and 10 present the results of the logistic regression with respect to attitudes toward strikes based on basic old-age insurance, income satisfaction, three kinds of job autonomy, and participation.

I used logistic regression for several reasons. First, the dependent variable has four levels: “strongly disagree,” “disagree,” “agree,” and “strongly agree.” For the purpose of my research, I wanted to know only whether workers are willing to support a strike, so the two levels of “disagree” and “agree” were sufficient to provide that information. Therefore, I collapsed the four variables into two variables: disagree (“strongly disagree,” “disagree,”) and agree (“agree,” and “strongly agree.”). Because disagree and agree are dichotomous variables, logistic regression can be conducted. Secondly, as shown in the Figure 1, distribution of the dependent variable is closely to a normal distribution, with no indication of skewness, so I can use the logistic regression.

As presented in Table 3, the mean scores for attitudes toward strikes are 2.05, 2.03, and 2.04 for professional, nonprofessional, and manufacturing workers, respectively. However, no significant differences emerged among these groups. Because the dependent variable’ difference among three group is not significant, and other independent or control variables’ difference among three groups is significant, I infer that the relationship of dependent variable and independent variable and control variable within each group is different. As seen in Tables 3

and 4, however, the significant differences among three groups are evident. The mean ages of the employees in professional, nonprofessional, and manufacturing companies are 35.00, 35.45, and 36.09 years, respectively, with the mean age for the entire group of 35 years. The mean migrant workers' scores are 0.08, 0.18, and 0.24 for professional, nonprofessional, and manufacturing workers, respectively. Because migrant workers usually have less education than do other workers, the proportion of migrant workers in the professional category is low. The statistically significant difference in the mean scores for education support this notion. From the table 3, among the three groups, the average education of professionals is the highest, while that of manufacturing workers is the lowest.

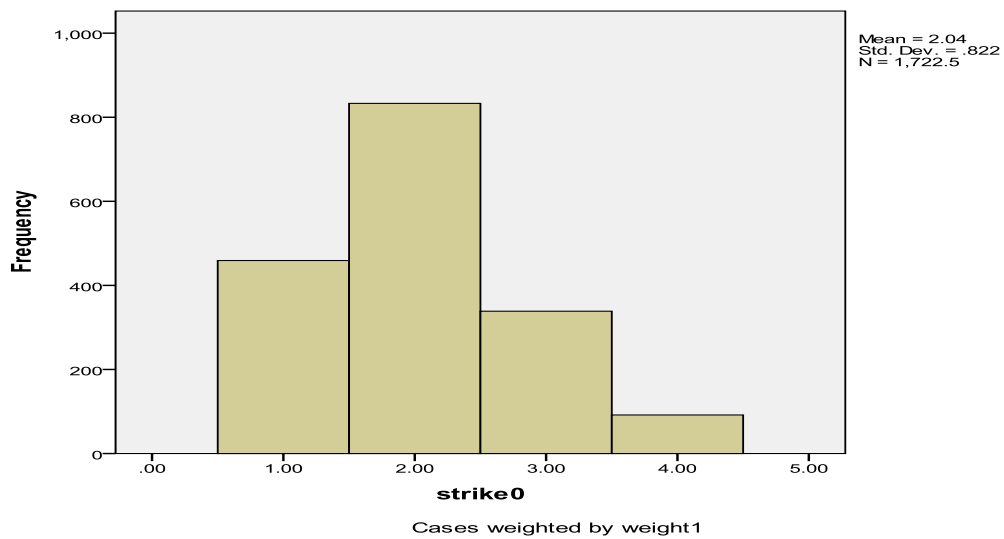
Table 3. Mean and Standard Deviation of Variables

Variable	Professional		Non-professional		Manufacturing Workers	
	Mean \pm SD	N	Mean \pm SD	N	Mean \pm SD	N
Attitudes toward Strikes	2.05 \pm 0.82	386	2.03 \pm 0.80	589	2.04 \pm 0.84	747
Gender	0.51 \pm 0.50	422	0.42 \pm 0.49	636	0.68 \pm 0.47	802
Age	34.99 \pm 9.83	422	35.45 \pm 11.35	636	36.09 \pm 10.14	802
Migrant	0.08 \pm 0.27	422	0.18 \pm 0.38	636	0.24 \pm 0.43	802
Education	8.35 \pm 2.84	422	6.27 \pm 2.43	634	4.93 \pm 1.93	802
Private	0.09 \pm 0.30	422	0.09 \pm 0.29	636	0.13 \pm 0.34	802
Foreign-funded	0.03 \pm 0.16	422	0.01 \pm 0.11	636	0.02 \pm 0.15	802
Old-age Insurance	0.62 \pm 0.49	405	0.45 \pm 0.50	617	0.46 \pm 0.50	763
Income	2.62 \pm 0.59	414	2.46 \pm 0.68	630	2.50 \pm 0.64	792
Participation	2.27 \pm 0.72	407	1.99 \pm 0.80	607	1.80 \pm 0.82	774

Table4. ANOVA Test for Variables included in the Analysis

Variables	Attitudes toward Strikes	Gender	Age	Migrant	Education	State-owned
F-test	0.91	53.93***	1.63	23.89***	312.02***	34.16***
Variables	Private	Foreign-funded	Old-age Insurance	Income	Participation	
F-test	3.58**	1.61	17.96***	8.59***	47.53***	

** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Figure 1. Distribution of Dependent Variable

The situation of receiving basic old-age insurance is also significantly different among three groups. With respect to attitudes toward income, the mean score of professionals are 2.62, 2.46 and 2.50, and the difference is significant among three groups. Finally, for participation, professionals have highest scores than other groups, and the difference is significant, too.

The results of the correlational analysis are more complex. For the professional group, (see Table 5) participation has a significant negative relationship to attitudes toward strikes. Further, gender has a positive significant association with age and autonomy, and age has a positive significant relationship with employment by state-owned enterprises and old-age insurance but a negative significant relationship with migrant status, education, and employment by private or foreign-funded companies. One potential reason for these findings is that, in China, young professional persons are more likely to choose to work in foreign-funded companies because foreign-funded companies provide a higher income, while older workers prefer state-owned enterprises because state-owned enterprises provide steady old-age insurance. Migrant status has a positive significant association with employment at a private company, but a negative relationship with education, employment at a state-owned enterprise, and old-age insurance because, in China, migrant workers do not receive the same treatment as do urban citizens and, as such, rarely receive old-age insurance. Education is positively related to employment at a state-owned enterprise, income satisfaction, and old-age insurance. It is clear that having a good education is associated with high income satisfaction and old-age insurance for professionals. Old-age insurance has a positive relationship with being employed by a state-owned enterprise or private company but a negative relationship with employment at a foreign-funded company. Finally, participation has a positive association with autonomy. If professionals have the

Table 5. Correlation of Variables in the Professional Group

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.											
2.	0.07										
3.	-0.06	0.21**									
4.	0.01	-0.01	-0.12**								
5.	0.05	0.02	-0.22**	-0.13**							
6.	0.04	0.03	0.17**	-0.11**	0.12**						
7.	-0.01	-0.01	-0.12**	0.17**	-0.01	0.19**					
8.	-0.04	-0.01	-0.13**	0.01	-0.02	-0.28**	-0.06				
9.	-0.10	0.02	-0.06	0.07	0.13**	-0.03	0.10**	0.03			
10.	-0.01	0.06	0.16**	-0.14**	0.29**	0.22**	-0.07	-0.07	0.03		
11.	-0.04	0.14**	0.09	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.09	-0.01	0.08	-0.04	
12.	-0.10**	-0.02	0.03	0.08	-0.02	-0.03	0.04	0.09	0.07	0.05	0.14**

** p<0.05,

1. Attitudes toward Strikes 2. Gender 3. Age 4. Migrant 5. Education 6. State-owned 7. Private 8. Foreign-funded 9. Income Satisfaction 10. Old-age insurance 11. Autonomy 12. Participation

opportunity to discuss tasks with their manager, they usually can obtain some level of autonomy with these tasks.

As shown in Table 6, attitudes toward strikes have a positive significant relationship with gender and migrant status but a negative significant relationship with income satisfaction, old-age insurance, and participation for nonprofessionals. Gender is positively significantly related to age, old-age insurance, and autonomy but negatively significantly related to income satisfaction. Age has a positive significant relationship with employment at a state-owned enterprise and old-age insurance but a negative significant association with migrant status, education, employment at a private or foreign-funded company, and income satisfaction. These relationships hold true for professional workers as well. Migrant status has a positive significant relationship with employment at a foreign-funded company and a negative significant relationship with education, employment at a state-owned enterprise, and old-age insurance. Education has a positive significant relationship with employment at a state-owned enterprise, foreign-funded company, income satisfaction, old-age insurance, and participation. Generally, state-owned and foreign-funded companies offer higher incomes and comfortable work situations and, thus, can attract nonprofessionals with higher education. Employment at a state-owned enterprise has a positive relationship with employment at a private company and old-age insurance and a negative relationship with employment at foreign-funded company. Employment at a private company has a positive significant relationship with income satisfaction. Participation has a positive significant relationship with autonomy and these relationships hold true for professional workers as well.

For manufacturing workers, attitudes toward strikes have positive significant relationship with employment at private company and autonomy as shown in Table 7. Gender has a positive

Table 6. Correlation of Variables in the Nonprofessional Group.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.											
2.	0.09**										
3.	-0.05	0.21**									
4.	0.09**	0.02	- 0.25**								
5.	-0.03	-0.07	- 0.21**	- 0.13* *							
6.	-0.02	0.01	0.14**	- 0.20* *	0.09**						
7.	-0.02	-0.04	- 0.12**	0.02	0.08	0.19* *					
8.	0.05	-0.06	- 0.09**	0.10* *	0.08**	- 0.28* *	-0.06				
9.	-0.12**	- 0.09**	- 0.13**	0.01	0.19**	-0.03	0.10* *	0.03			
10.	-0.13**	0.09**	0.13**	- 0.29* *	0.35**	0.22* *	-0.07	-0.07	0.03		
11.	-0.04	0.14**	0.09	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.09	-0.01	0.08	- 0.0 4	
12.	-0.12**	0.02	0.04	-0.06	0.13**	-0.03	0.04	0.09	0.07	0.0 5	0.1 4**

** p<0.05

1. Attitudes toward Strikes 2. Gender 3. Age 4. Migrant 5. Education 6. State-owned 7. Private
8. Foreign-funded 9. Income Satisfaction 10. Old-age insurance 11. Autonomy 12. Participation

significant relationship with age, migrant status, employment at a state-owned enterprise, and old-age insurance. Age has positive significant relationship with employment at a state-owned enterprise, old-age insurance, and autonomy but a negative significant relationship with migrant status and education. Migrant status has a negative significant association with education, employment at a state-owned enterprise, and old-age insurance. Education has positively significant relationship with employment at a state-owned enterprise and old-age insurance. Generally, manufacturing jobs do not require a high level of education; thus, education has no significant relationship with income satisfaction, as it does in the case of professionals and nonprofessionals. Old-age insurance has a positive significant relationship with employment at a state-owned enterprise or private company but a negative relationship with employment at a foreign-funded company. Employment at a private company is positively related to autonomy but negatively related with old-age insurance because private companies seldom provide old-age insurance. Old-age insurance has a positive association with participation, which has a positive relationship with autonomy.

Table 8 shows the results of the logistic regression of independent variables on attitudes toward strikes for the demographic background of. When controlling for other salient factors, the probability that a professional who is satisfied with his or her income will support a strike is approximately half that of a professional who is not satisfied. The odds of supporting a strike for professionals with partial participation and full participation are, respectively, 0.73 and 0.94 times smaller than the odds for professionals with no participation, when controlling for other variables. In brief, professionals who are dissatisfied with their income and have no participation

Table 7. Correlation of Variables in the Manufacturing Workers Group.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.											
2.	0.01										
3.	-0.02	0.12* *									
4.	-0.05	0.10* *	- 0.23**								
5.	0.02	0.06	- 0.19**	- 0.23* *							
6.	0.05	0.08* *	0.12**	- 0.29* *	0.31* *						
7.	0.08**	0.02	-0.04	0.03	0.06	0.31**					
8.	-0.04	-0.04	-0.08	0.01	0.01	- 0.19**	-0.06				
9.	-0.07	0.0	-0.03	0.05	-0.01	-0.06	0.04	0.04			
10.	-0.03	0.01	0.13**	- 0.35* *	0.38* *	0.40**	- 0.09* *	0.06	-0.05		
11.	0.10**	0.04	0.08**	-0.01	0.08* *	0.05	0.07* *	-0.03	0.02	0.06	
12.	-0.03	0.11* *	0.01	0.02	0.18* *	0.13**	-0.03	-0.02	0.01	0.14 **	0.2 4**

** p<0.05,

1. Attitudes toward Strikes 2. Gender 3. Age 4. Migrant 5. Education 6. State-owned 7. Private
8. Foreign-funded 9. Income Satisfaction 10. Old-age insurance 11. Autonomy 12. Participation

Table 8. Determinants of Attitudes toward Strikes in the Professional Group.

Variable	B	Exp (B)
Gender	0.45	1.57
Age	-0.01	0.99
Migrant	0.28	1.32
Education(Middle school)	2.06	7.84
Education(High School)	2.19	8.94
Education(University)	2.43	11.34
Private Company	0.15	1.16
Foreign Company	-0.36	0.68
Income Satisfaction	-0.57**	0.57
Old Age Insurance	0.04	1.04
Autonomy	-0.01	0.99
Part Participation	-0.73**	0.48
Full Participation	-0.94***	0.39
Nagelkerke <i>R</i> -squared	0.09	

B means the log odds ratio.

** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

are more likely to support a strike. The Nagelkerke *R*-squared¹⁰ is 0.09, which means that 9% of the variance in the dependent variable can be explained by these independent variables.

The results presented in Table 9 indicate that for nonprofessionals the odds of striking for a male are nearly double the odds for a female, when other variables are controlled. Being dissatisfied

¹⁰This should not be interpreted exactly as one would interpret *R*-squared in ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression. In fact, it is an approximation or only similar to *R*-squared.

Table 9. Determinants of Attitudes toward Strikes in the Nonprofessional Group

Variable	B	Exp (B)
Gender	0.68***	1.98
Age	-0.01	0.99
Migrant	0.31	1.36
Education(Middle school)	0.54	1.71
Education(High School)	0.49	1.64
Education(University)	0.91	2.49
Private Company	-0.09	0.91
Foreign Company	0.65	1.91
Income Satisfaction	-0.67***	0.51
Old Age Insurance	-0.72***	0.49
Autonomy	0.21	1.24
Part Participation	-0.98***	0.38
Full Participation	-0.75***	0.47
Nagelkerke R-squared	0.13	

B means the log odds ratio.

** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

with one's income results in almost 1.3 times the probability that a professional will support a strike. The odds of supporting a strike by nonprofessionals with basic old-age when workers have partial participation and full participation are, respectively, 0.98times and 0.75 times greater than the odds of supporting a strike by workers with no participation, when controlling for other

Table 10. Determinants of Attitudes toward Strikes in the Manufacturing Worker Group.

Variable	B	Exp (B)
Gender	0.23	1.25
Age	-0.02	0.98
Migrant	-0.59**	0.56
Education(Middle school)	0.13	1.14
Education(High School)	-0.05	0.95
Education(University)	0.17	1.18
Private Company	0.51**	1.68
Foreign Company	-0.68	0.51
Income Satisfaction	-0.38**	0.69
Old Age Insurance	-0.22	0.81
Autonomy	0.27***	1.31
Part Participation	-0.32	0.73
Full Participation	-0.10	0.91
Nagelkerke <i>R</i> -squared	0.06	

B means the log odds ratio.

** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

variables. In summary, nonprofessionals who are dissatisfied with their income and have no basic old-age insurance and no participation have a higher probability of supporting a strike, with males' being more likely than are females to support a strike. The Nagelkerke *R*-squared is 0.13, which means that 13% of the variance of the dependent variable can be explained by the independent variables. As seen in Table 10 the odds of a migratory manufacturing worker's supporting a strike are 1.7 times greater than the odds of a resident worker's supporting a strike

when controlling for other variables. The odds of a manufacturing worker in a private company supporting a strike are over one-and-a-half times greater than the odds of a manufacturing worker in a state-owned enterprise's supporting a strike, when controlling for other variables. The odds of supporting a strike by a manufacturing worker who is satisfied with his or her income are more than one-half times greater than the odds of supporting a strike by a manufacturing worker who is dissatisfied with his or her income. The slope of autonomy is 0.27 which means that for every 1-point increase in autonomy, the log odds of supporting the strike increase 0.27 times, when other variables are controlled. Thus, migrant manufacturing workers in private companies who have autonomy but an unsatisfactory income are more likely to support a strike. The Nagelkerke *R*-squared is 0.06, which means that 6% of the variance of the dependent variable can be explained by independent variables.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

Based on the job satisfaction and labor process theories, I proposed four hypotheses: Workers who have job autonomy and participation have negative attitudes toward strikes whereas workers who are satisfied with their income and have basic old-age insurance have negative attitudes toward strikes. The results indicated that professional and nonprofessional workers with greater participation on the job have negative attitudes toward strikes. This result supports Alluto's (1976) finding of a relationship between participation and negative attitudes toward strikes. Hodson (1993) also concluded that participation has a negative relationship with attitudes toward strikes. However, he did not identify participants' occupations, so it is not clear to which group these workers belonged. As noted, professional, nonprofessional, and manufacturing workers can have different expectations about participation. Nonprofessionals like salespersons might find their work be creative and challenging. If management allows nonprofessionals to participate in decision-making, they will feel that they are valued and will have greater enthusiasm for their jobs.

The results also demonstrated that greater job autonomy is negatively related to attitudes toward strikes only in the manufacturing worker group, but not in the other two groups. Thus, Hodson's conclusion (1993) that increased job autonomy reduces one's willingness to strike is not supported. The reason for this might be that, in China, the collectivistic culture is strong, and job autonomy is less valued in such a culture. In China, responsibility and empowerment are not necessarily viewed as always good, and high autonomy could be perceived as a burden (Liu 2011). Workers with high autonomy might feel uncomfortable, which could increase the conflict between workers and management.

In the current study, income satisfaction had a significant relationship with attitudes toward strikes for all three groups. Thus, Martin's (1976) and Liu's (2008) findings of a positive relationship between income satisfaction and attitudes toward strikes are confirmed. The results indicated that basic old-age insurance has a significant effect on the attitudes toward strikes only in the nonprofessional group when age is significant. The reason for this might be that nonprofessionals' age and old-age insurance have a positive significant relationship with one another—namely, workers who are old are more likely to get old-age insurance. Therefore, I would expect that old age insurance would only have an impact on attitudes toward strikes for older people. Moreover, the findings for the control variables are more complex. Gender is significant in the nonprofessional group. As teachers belong to the professional group, Alutto and Belasco's (1974) conclusion that male teachers are more likely to take part in a strike is not supported.

No significant relationship was found between education and attitudes toward strikes in any of the three groups, so Fox and Wince's (1976) conclusion that, for the teacher, higher education means a greater willingness to strike cannot be supported. In addition, overall, the effect of migrant identity was significant only for manufacturing workers, as migrant workers are more likely to experience bad working conditions and low income. Furthermore, the effect of ownership is significant on the attitudes toward strikes in private companies. Generally, SOEs have a more regulatory management and steadier paychecks, so it is understandable that manufacturing workers in private companies have a greater willingness to take part in a strike.

Some limitations to this study should be noted. First, the data used are somewhat outdated. In the seven years since 2006, people's attitudes might have changed. If similar research is conducted in the future, the data should be updated. Second, some may feel that the

best way to know what influences workers to strike is to survey those who have participated in a strike. As such, future research should focus on these groups. However, even workers who, in the CGSS survey, expressed strong disagreement with the strike might, in some situations, participate in a strike. Nevertheless, research on strike participants' beliefs and attitudes is valuable and can provide information on how to reduce workers' willingness to support strikes. In addition, for future research, I would design two levels of questions. The first level would focus on people's attitudes toward strikes while the second would focus on people's behavior related to the strike. For example, a question might be, "Have you participated in a strike in the past, and why or why not?" A third limitation is the question on participation in the CGSS 2006. The question involved only one kind of participation (workers and managers participating in decision making without the union or another organization). However, in the literature review, I presented four kinds of participation; thus, future surveys should contain questions that concern all four kinds of participation. The fourth limitation is the low R square. They show an obvious limitation in predicting attitudes toward strikes. Many elements that affect workers' attitudes are not captured in the survey, not this analysis.

This research is meaningful for theoretical and practical reasons. The results suggest that strikes can be reduced by increasing participation, income, and old-age insurance. Therefore, labor process theory IS supported. At the applied level, employers including Foxcomm and Honda Motors that employ primarily manufacturing workers should focus on improving worker wages if they wish to avoid strikes in the future. This research shows that income satisfaction is the most important factor influencing workers' attitudes toward strikes. The government also could raise the minimum salary level to force factories to increase workers' income. For

professionals and nonprofessionals, income is important, as well. However, for these groups, we should pay attention to the function of participation, which can reduce the willingness to strike.

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Appendix: The Map of Sample Stratum in CGSS 2006

